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FRONTIER EDUCATION IN SPANISH LOUISIANA¹

BY ERNEST R. LILJEGREN

The development of education in Spanish colonial Louisiana was in marked contrast with the evolution of democratic American frontier schools. This was a result, in a large measure, of basic differences in social and political philosophy.

During the eighteenth century, immigration into the United States brought a mingling of arts, religions, and cultures. Immigration inland from the Atlantic coast drew these varied elements into close contact, and the adversities of pioneer life bred tolerance and democracy.

After the Revolutionary war, the American pioneers spilled over the Appalachian mountains and spread out through the greater part of the territory east of the Mississippi river. These hardy frontiersmen carried with them a bold democratic spirit. On the frontier, every man considered himself equal to any other. He believed, furthermore, that his children had the right of equal opportunity.

Trekking into the wilderness, the settlers left behind the smugness of New England academies and the charity schools of the middle colonies. As individualists they were unwilling to wait for the church to provide a school for their children or for philanthropic easterners to present them with educational opportunities. In their characteristic manner, the backwoodsmen declared a holiday and built a log school-house—a rare social event which drew people from miles

¹On subjects relating to Spanish Louisiana, the real wealth of information is buried in the archives of Spain. The hitherto unpublished material presented in this study was gleaned from transcripts of French and Spanish manuscripts in Spanish archives, particularly the *Archivo General de las Indias, Sección Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba*, Seville, Spain. (This depository will hereinafter be cited by the abbreviation A. G. I., P. de C., followed by the *legajo* number.) The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Abraham P. Nasatir of San Diego state college for the use of his large private library of transcripts from the Spanish archives. All references to *legajos* in the Spanish archives are to transcripts in Dr. Nasatir's library.

around. In time then, a day was set aside to build a church. The early American West was dotted with such buildings dedicated to democratic culture and learning among the pioneers. In some way or another, they found teachers and ministers. Often it was an itinerant Presbyterian preacher who served in both capacities.

The religious revival of the latter part of the eighteenth century stimulated learning, but religion did not come to dominate the American backwoods schoolhouse. Rather, western democratic spirit dominated education. Not all gained the rudiments of learning and but few were well educated. However, these crude pioneer schools turned out people who could read the *Bible* and the *Kentucky Gazette*, take an intelligent part in the political activities of the United States, and occasionally trade with the Spaniards and the French on the other side of the Mississippi.

When Spanish Louisiana came under American control, thousands of rough settlers crossed the river to new lands where they found older settlements populated by Frenchmen living under Spanish rule. The Americans, with their higher regard for learning, met a civilization where education was generally limited to a few of the officials and the wealthy. In the opinion of one observer, they encountered a people who were at least a century behind other civilized nations in the arts and sciences. Illiteracy was very high; one writer judged that not more than one-half of the population could read and write and probably not more than 200 could do so with facility. Even among those who had received instruction, reading and writing was usually the extent of their learning.²

Although Spanish Louisiana was not entirely lacking in culture, there were but few opportunities for intellectual advancement. The colony had no public libraries and few private collections of books. There was but one printing press. The one weekly newspaper was strictly censored by the government and had a paid circulation to only a few

²Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, p. 320; *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, No. 164, pp. 344-56; *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. V, No. 105, p. 112.

subscribers. There were no colleges or other institutions of higher learning.³

In contrast to the democratic development of education in the American West, education in Louisiana was the particular sphere of the church and the government. As neither institution had a successful educational program, a few unlicensed private schools were tolerated. Despite handicaps, some noteworthy efforts were made to make knowledge available to a portion of the people at least.

For the better part of a century, the Ursuline Nuns of Rouen had been active in New Orleans. During the Spanish period, these *religieuses* conducted a boarding school for girls and taught reading, needlework, and other subjects. The bishop of Louisiana considered their work to be very effective, but they limited their influence by refusing admittance to those who did not know the French language. Nonetheless, they trained about 100 day pupils and about 70 boarding students.⁴

Whereas the Ursulines tended to perpetuate French mores in the colony, the Spanish government was anxious to expedite the use of Spanish customs and language. Accordingly in 1771, the minister of the Indies arranged to send three teachers and a director to New Orleans. Each teacher had as his primary objective "inspiring in the minds of the pupils the holy fear of God, sound principles of Piety, and the Christian Religion, the practice of its virtues, the love and respect of a good Subject for our natural and legitimate Sovereign." One teacher contracted to teach such elementary subjects as grammar, spelling, penmanship, and lower arithmetic. The other two teachers were employed to teach Latin grammar. The director, Don Manuel Andrés López de Armesto, was

³*American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, No. 164, pp. 344-56. Rowland, Dunbar, "Louisiana Affairs in 1804. William C. C. Claiborne, Governor General of the Province of Louisiana, to James Madison, Secretary of State," in *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 6 (May, 1903), pp. 403-408.

⁴Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana, The Spanish Domination*, pp. 378-79: Excerpts in translation from a letter written by Bishop Peñalver y Cárdenas, November 1, 1795.

For a discussion of the establishment of the Ursulines in New Orleans, see Richardson, Caroline Francis, "A Note on the Organization of the Oldest School for Girls in the Mississippi Valley," in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the Year 1914-15*, Vol. VIII, pp. 201-209.

made responsible for the conduct of the school and, in addition, was charged with the care of a library which was also sent from Spain. The teachers were to be paid 700 *pesos* annually and the director 1,000 *pesos*. Eventually, the school was to be supported by public taxation.⁵

This highly commendable educational project failed, not from lack of support, but because the French inhabitants tenaciously clung to their language and refused to send their children to the Spanish school. No child ever presented himself for enrollment in the Latin school; therefore, the three teachers taught only elementary subjects. The enrollment of the school never exceeded thirty pupils and often dwindled to six. Accordingly, by 1785, the staff of the school was reorganized.

A fire in 1788 destroyed the Spanish school as well as the greater part of New Orleans. A civic minded subject made a small building available for a classroom and instruction was continued. The fire, however, forced many families to move into the country, and, therefore, enrollment was again reduced to a low figure.⁶

Nevertheless, López de Armesto was retained as director of the school until the American period with a reduced salary of 400 *pesos*.⁷ As early as 1791, Fray Ubaldo Delgado was appointed *maestro de primeras letras* for the public schools of New Orleans. His duties could not have been burdensome, for despite the small enrollment he was allowed a paid assistant. Father Delgado received 700 *pesos* per year, while his

⁵Bjork, David K., (trans. & ed.), "Documents Relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana, 1771," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (March, 1925), pp. 561-69. Wood, Minter, "Life in New Orleans in the Spanish Period," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (July, 1939), pp. 643-709. See especially pp. 704-709 for a bibliography on New Orleans during the Spanish period.

⁶Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, The Spanish Domination*, pp. 204-206: Letter from Governor Don Estevan Miró to the Spanish government, dated April 1, 1788. Martin, François-Xavier, *The History of Louisiana, From the Earliest Period*, p. 242: A census taken in 1785 by order of Governor Don Bernardo de Galvez shows that the Spanish school had a director and two masters with 700 *pesos* allotted to the director and 1,050 *pesos* to the two masters. As the contracts for three teachers at 700 *pesos* each ran for fifteen years, this date may be an error.

⁷This reduction in salary was not a noticeable handicap as López de Armesto was appointed secretary to the governor and intendancy with an additional emolument of 600 *pesos*.

subordinate, Don Fernando Ybañez, received just one-half that amount. These two teachers were employed with only twelve or fifteen pupils during the remainder of the Spanish regime.⁸

Obstinate love for the *mère patrie* was not the sole reason for boycotting the Spanish school. Frenchmen without means usually aspired to a business career for their sons. Only reading, writing, and cyphering were necessary prerequisites for a position as a clerk. As practically all commercial accounts and correspondence were maintained in French, parents wished their children to learn the rudiments in the language. Before the fire of 1788, eight French elementary schools were maintained privately in New Orleans. In contrast to the very small attendance at the public school, the private schools attracted about 400 pupils of both sexes.⁹

During the decade of the French revolution, the educational facilities of Spanish Louisiana were increased by an influx of cultural refugees. Many émigrés from Europe and Santo Domingo found their way to New Orleans where, very often, they taught privately in order to make a meagre living—meagre, because the Creoles of the province were unwilling to pay for education. Cheapness was the primary consideration when a teacher was hired. If unable to question an instructor's ability, the inhabitants covered their penuriousness by attacking his diligence and sent their children to a petty inferior Creole school. "The people of New Orleans consider it abominable to be charged more than two *piastres* a month for their children, and content themselves with any dull pedagogue who will take that sum."¹⁰

In 1800 "an academy for the instruction of youth" was opened by some refugees from Santo Domingo. Louis Fran-

⁸A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 122A: *Relacion de los Empleados vivos y jubilados con sueldo del Real Hacienda de toda la Provincia sus nombres salarios y clases*, draft dated January 13, 1792. *Ibid.*, Legajo 489: *Sueldos de Real Hacienda, Año de 1802*, signed by Don Gilberto Leonard y Don Manuel Stornmirez, No. 25 (probably dated January, 1803). Salaries were paid three times each year—on April 30, August 31, and December 31.

⁹Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, The Spanish Domination*, p. 206.

¹⁰[Berquin-Duvallon], *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas in the Year 1802, Giving a Correct Picture of Those Countries*, translated and edited by John Davis, pp. 50-52.

çois Lefort, an able educator, headed the school which offered a rather broad curriculum. This enterprise failed also because of the notorious stinginess of the *habitants*.¹¹

Educational opportunities in New Orleans were limited enough, but there were practically none whatsoever in the rural districts. Many of the most opulent planters could neither read nor write. One French traveler in Louisiana wrote that plantation owners often "pick up some worthless vagabond on the road, whom they take into their houses to teach their families, and crowd his throat with victuals, but his pocket with little money. Yet these same people complain that New Orleans and the country are in want of good instructors!" This caustic critic would let the people do without teachers exclaiming: "Yes! While the Louisianans refuse to exchange their perishable coin for lasting knowledge, may they ever have masters incapable of imparting to the minds of their children a single idea!"¹²

Cultural opportunities in western Louisiana and the upper part of the province were even more limited. The small posts and villages scattered on the frontier were far from the paths of commerce and received but scant attention from the Spanish government. Yet it must be recalled that the frontier settlements of Spanish Louisiana had been established by cultured French families. Prominent men, Saint Denis, Athanase De Mézières, François Vallé, Auguste Chouteau, and many others had carried a semblance of old world enlightenment to Natchitoches, Arkansas, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and other remote settlements. For the most part, these men saw their descendants reared in ignorance, often retrograded to the level of the *coureurs des bois* and the savages.

The backwardness of the French *habitants* of colonial Spanish Louisiana in the 1790s was almost unbelievable. Culture was lost, the French language was corrupted, agricultural practices had degenerated, and the people had sunk

¹¹*Ibid.* Dart, Henry P., "Public Education in New Orleans in 1800" in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (April, 1928), pp. 241-52.

¹²[Berquin-Duvallon], *Travels in Louisiana*, pp. 51-52.

into an abysmal stupidity.¹³ A few strove frantically to educate their sons, but only the wealthy could afford this luxury. At best, they hoped for a government position in New Orleans where they could give their children some cultural contacts. Some very few sent their young men to schools in Canada, France, or the United States.¹⁴ In some of the frontier posts, the people became resigned to ignorance—victims of their isolation and contact with Indians. They became engrossed in trade and in the pleasures of life.

The inhabitants of some of the newer settlements in Spanish upper Louisiana, however, struggled against the ignorance which threatened to stifle them, and made sporadic attempts to afford some sort of education for their children.

¹³These conditions were particularly prevalent in settlements in western Louisiana. A very pessimistic view is found in the writings of contemporary French travelers. Cf. Collet, Victor, *A Journey in North America*, pp. 6, 231-64, and Perrin du Lac, F. M., *Voyages dans les Deux Louisianes et Chez les Nations Sauvages du Missouri*.

A. G. I., P. de C., *Legajo 25A*: Letter from Delinó to Baron de Carondelet, No. 94, Arkansas, December 24, 1792. In October, 1792, Father Pierre Gibault went from New Madrid to the Arkansas post where he gave particular attention to the religious instruction of young people.

Ibid., *Legajo 22*: Letter from Carondelet to Gayoso de Lemos, New Orleans, August 11, (1795?). In 1795, an ex-school teacher, La Roche, asked for the command of Ouachita. The governor favored his request, spoke highly of his ability, probity, and good education, but refused him on the ground that the colonists would resent being governed by a schoolmaster.

Ibid., *Legajo 95*: Draft of a letter from Governor Juan Manuel de Salcedo to Intendant Morales, New Orleans, March 18, 1802, and reply, March 20, 1802. In 1802, a new commandant at Ouachita urged the governor to appoint the Baron de Sterntall, resident at the post, to the position of interpreter of English, French, and German. His salary was to be 20 pesos per month and his duties were to include the education of the youth in the *primeras letras*. However, the Spanish regime was then all but over and the government would not assume new obligations.

Ibid., *Legajo 77*: Letter from Vizente Fernando Tejeiro to Salcedo, Ouachita, June 30, 1802. In reporting on the post of Ouachita, the commandant said that he was the only Spaniard who had ever resided there. Among the sixty-nine inhabitants, there was no church or regular priest, no school or physician.

¹⁴The Vallé, Papin, and Cerré families afforded good examples of this practice. However, some of the leading inhabitants did have a liberal education. Pierre Chouteau, although he stated that he received his education in the school of the Osages, could quote Horace in the original.

Canadian Archives Report, 1891, "State Papers, Lower Canada," No. 115. The British had a similar problem in Canada where there was "not a grammar school worthy of the name, or inferior schools conducted on proper principles. The result of this is to compel the higher classes to send their children to the United States to complete their education, a necessity pregnant with alarming mischief."

Chafing under the necessity of sending their sons abroad, more than a score of prominent men in St. Louis, the tiny capital of upper Louisiana, attempted in 1792 to bring education to their village. Expecting their priest to retire, they petitioned that the Benedictine Friar Pierre Joseph Didier be appointed to the parish. Father Didier was a capable man with a fine intellect and pleasing manners. The merchants of St. Louis valued his presence "for the accommodation which we would have of instructing our children under our very eyes without sending them abroad for that purpose which would always be costly to us."¹⁵

Father Didier served the village well as priest and physician. As yet there is no evidence that he actually conducted classes in St. Louis other than the fact that he had *un porcion de* catechisms and school books in his library. Didier's library was remarkably large and varied, indicating his broad background. Certainly he must have had a strong cultural influence among the *habitants*.

From scanty records, a little more is known of lay school teachers residing in St. Louis. Early in 1797, Madame Maria Josepha Pinçonneau *dit* Rigauche opened a school for girls at the personal instance of Governor Carondelet who promised her a monthly stipend of 15 *pesos*. While the salary was never paid, she was compensated in 1800 with a land grant of 1,600 arpents. Madame Rigauche conducted classes in a log house at least until 1804.¹⁶

An old man named Carboneaux was master of *primeras letras* during this same decade.¹⁷ Better known was Jean

¹⁵A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 215A: Petition to Governor Carondelet, St. Louis, July 16, 1792. *Ibid.*, Legajo 25A: Letter from Zenon Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 15, St. Louis, August 30, 1792.

Following the French revolution, Fray Didier came to Gallipolis as a chaplain to a group of émigrés. From there he went to upper Louisiana and became the pastor of St. Charles and St. Ferdinand de Florissant by appointment confirmed by the Spanish king. In addition to conducting catechism schools in these villages, he practiced medicine in St. Louis and acted as physician to the military hospital established for a few months at St. Louis in 1797. His library, which contained more than 264 volumes, was one of the largest collections in Creole St. Louis. He died in New Orleans sometime before September 14, 1799, and was replaced by the Presbyterian Pierre Janin.

¹⁶American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. II, p. 466. Conard, Howard L., (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, Vol. III, p. 1592.

¹⁷A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 70B: Letter from De Lassus to Casa Calvo, No. 114, St. Louis, October 7, 1801.

Baptiste Truteau who conducted a small French school during most of his residence in St. Louis from 1774 until his death in 1827. His most notable students were the sons of his relative, Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant governor of upper Louisiana.¹⁸ But St. Louis was essentially a commercial town and these two men expended entirely too much energy pursuing the fur trade to have devoted much time to education.

Noteworthy educational programs were advanced in New Madrid and Ste. Genevieve and two other important settlements of Spanish upper Louisiana. Of these two towns, New Madrid was the newer, having been established in 1789 as part of a scheme to colonize Anglo-Americans in Spanish territory.

In his prospectus for the colony, Colonel George Morgan made provisions for schools and churches. Firmly believing that education was of great importance, and particularly so in a new establishment, Morgan requested that he be authorized to appoint a school teacher for each of the six villages which were planned for the settlement. The teachers of the English schools were to be paid by the heads of families. As it would have been advantageous to teach the Spanish language as well, Morgan thought it would be politic to grant to them in addition an annual salary of 100 *pesos fuertes*. He also wished to reserve in each village two lots of one-half acre each for churches and schools. Morgan's ambitious colonization scheme had been approved by Diego de Gardoqui, but unfortunately it aroused the disfavor of General James Wilkinson who in turn excited the Spanish officials in Louisiana against it. Thereupon, the Spanish governor took effective steps to prevent Morgan's acquiring too much power in upper

¹⁸Billon, Frederic, (comp.), *Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, pp. 201, 449.

For a review of Truteau's trading and exploring activities, see Nasatir, Abraham P., "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (March, 1930), pp. 507-528; the "Première Partie" of the "Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Missouri, June 7, 1794-March 26, 1795," printed in French in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (January, 1914), pp. 299-333; and the "Seconde Partie," translated by Mrs. H. T. Besuregard as "Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau Among the Arikara Indians in 1795," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (1912), pp. 9-48.

Louisiana. Thus hampered, his plans for schools and other civic advancements had no chance to materialize.¹⁹

In 1796, Father Paul de St. Pierre applied for the parish of New Madrid. He included with his application a proposal to entice German Catholics from the vicinity of Baltimore to make a settlement at New Madrid. As one means of inducement, St. Pierre wished the government to establish a church and a schoolhouse. He proposed that the government pay the sacristan of the church 15 *piastres* per month. As was the custom in Germany, the sacristan was to act also as chanter, and was to be in fact, the schoolmaster. The settlers were to contribute in addition 2 "*chellings*" per month for each child. This, according to St. Pierre, would "make a great impression upon the Germans who are well inclined for the instruction of their children."²⁰

This scheme was approved by some of the Spanish officials, but was premised upon an influx of many new settlers. There is very little indication that the schoolhouse ever was built. On the whole, cultural matters were given but scant attention in New Madrid.²¹

Of the Creole towns outside of New Orleans, Ste. Genevieve had the fullest measure of cultural advantages and made

¹⁹A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 1425: Morgan, Jorge, *Prospecto en Nueva Jersey*, September, 178-, enclosure No. 1 with letter from Miró to [Cabello] New Orleans, August 5, 1789. See also Houck, Louis, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 304.

In 1793, Thomas Jacob received authorization to teach in New Madrid. In 1802, Charles Chartres conducted an English school in the village. The school year extended from March to November with a tuition of \$2.00 per quarter.

²⁰A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 214: Letter of Paul de Saint Pierre to "Monseigneur," New Madrid, May 14, 1796, and enclosure entitled *Plan de l'établissement allemand à faire depuis le district de Nlle. Madrid jusqu'aux Illinois*. The position of the schoolmaster in France was the same as in Germany. Sacristans in Spanish Louisiana usually received 50 pesos per year. Very rarely, in large parishes they received 15 pesos per month.

²¹A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 104A: Letter from Yrujo to Gayoso de Lemos, Philadelphia, August 18, 1799. *Ibid.*, Legajo 2366: Letter from "Juan Watkins to his Majesty," New Orleans, March 4, 1800, and plan of John Watkins of same date. In 1799 and 1800, this [Dr.?] John Watkins presented a plan "*para el aumento de poblacion, y fomento de agricultura, comercio, e industria del pais de Ytinoas*. . . ." He and his associates wished to settle 400 families on one million arpents of land somewhere between the St. Francis and Arkansas rivers. He offered to establish at the expense of the company a school for the education of the youth to be directed by Catholic clergy. This school was to be initiated three years from the date of the concession requested.

the greatest effort to foster education and learning. In truth, Ste. Genevieve was the cultural center of upper Louisiana.

Some sort of primary school seems to have existed in the village during the greater part of the Spanish regime. It is known that Henry Marie Brackenridge, a well-known American traveler and writer, received part of his education in such a school at Ste. Genevieve. In 1792, his father sent him to the Spanish side of the Mississippi to live in a French home and learn the French language. Later, Brackenridge related that he had learned to read and spell French before he could speak the language. After a few months he won a prize—a set of teacups and saucers—for being the best reader. It has been suggested that Henry's instructor was François Moreau. Whoever the teacher may have been, Henry recorded that he was flogged "sometimes for the edification of his other scholars."²²

While Brackenridge was receiving childhood training, the village of Ste. Genevieve was commanded by Henri Peyroux de la Coudrenière. Peyroux was possibly the best informed person in the colony. His family made several efforts to establish a permanent school at Ste. Genevieve. In 1791, his mother, Madame Marguerite Peyroux de la Coudrenière, willed her home to the district to be used as an orphanage and schoolhouse for boys and girls. Fees paid by students from the village were expected to contribute to the support of the school. The major sustenance, however, was to come from crops and animals raised on the property.²³ It was Madame Peyroux's intention that nuns should be placed in charge of the institution. As it was impossible to bring teaching sisters to the village, finding and maintaining a competent teacher was a serious problem. In 1793, Henri Peyroux returned from a visit in the United States, bringing with him

²²Brackenridge, H[enry] M[arie]. *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, pp. 17-28, 204. Yealy, Francis J., S. J., *Sainte Genevieve, The Story of Missouri's Oldest Settlement*, p. 124. Moreau may have continued to teach in Ste. Genevieve until his death in 1801. It is unlikely, however, that he was prepared to instruct his students in more than the rudiments of reading, writing, and possibly arithmetic.

²³Dorrance, Ward Allison, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, p. 38.

a hatmaker, a Capuchin priest, and a schoolmaster. It seems that the priest and the schoolmaster did not find things to be as promised, for they recrossed to the American side. There was still no one to conduct classes in the *maison d'éducation*!²⁴

In filling this need, the *habitants* benefited from the social upheaval in France. The storm of the French revolution reached America in 1793. For a year and more, Spanish Louisiana was in grave danger of revolution or invasion by the French Jacobins. French military ventures came to nought, but even as they were being proposed, a notable stream of émigrés descended the Ohio river to Spanish territory. Most of these people were cast by the current onto the Spanish bank at New Madrid where some stayed. Others ascended the Mississippi to Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and the smaller settlements. Many of these refugees had capabilities almost undreamed of in Louisiana.

The most important émigré family to settle in upper Louisiana was that of Pierre Delassus de Luzières. De Luzières came to the province in 1793 and settled near Ste. Genevieve. He was a member of the intellectual French *petite noblesse* and had enjoyed an intimate friendship with Governor Carondelet during his boyhood.²⁵ From the day of his arrival, De Luzières strove to raise the intellectual and economic levels of the *habitants*. Joining with François Vallé and other leaders, De Luzières gave a great impetus to education, medicine, and agriculture. Through a long and intimate correspondence with Governor Carondelet, he stimulated an official sympathy for efforts to elevate the people of the remote frontier posts. Soon after establishing himself, De Luzières arranged to bring a capable midwife from Galli-

²⁴A. G. I., P. de C., *Legafo* 2363: Letter from Zenon Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 109, St. Louis, August 18, 1793.

²⁵De Luzières founded New Bourbon, a tiny village very near Ste. Genevieve and in 1797 was given command of the village. His son, Charles Dehault Delassus, became commandant at New Madrid in 1796 and in 1799 was appointed lieutenant governor of upper Louisiana.

François Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, became governor general of Louisiana in the latter part of December, 1791. A Frenchman, he was more liberal and enlightened than most of the Spanish officials and was more favorable toward education than any other governor. Although he is best known for his political intrigues with the Americans, he sponsored several economic and social improvements in the colony.

polis. He favored this person, not only for the services she could render, but also because she could teach likely young women from the various districts.²⁶ Moreover, for several years he endeavored to persuade a competent doctor to take up his abode in the district.

Early in 1794, several members of De Luzières' family joined him at Ste. Genevieve. They had obtained a boat in the United States and had floated down the Ohio river. During this tedious journey, they were accompanied by three Clarisse nuns—fugitives from revolutionary France. One of these women was qualified as a superior. Struck by the unusual ability of these *religieuses* and their desire to be of service, Madame Delassus urged them to come to Ste. Genevieve to administer to the sick and educate the young women. François Vallé used his influence to find temporary hospitality for them and united his pleadings to those of the De Luzières family in order to effect their permanent residence in the colony. In addressing the lieutenant governor, Vallé remarked, "You will feel as I, *Monsieur*, how precious their establishment will be in this colony." Carondelet was asked to arrange a fixed stipend of 25 *piastres* a month toward their support, whereas the inhabitants of the village planned to supplement this small sum in order that the nuns could enjoy a happy and useful life.²⁷ As an added inducement, Madame Peyroux made a new will in favor of the nuns so that they

²⁶A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 2365: *Observations sur les moyens d'accroître promptement et avec succès les progrès de l'agriculture du district de la Nlle. Bourbon et de celui de Ste. Genevieve et de procurer à leurs habitants divers avantages* by Pierre de Luzières, New Bourbon, December 1, 1797. Another signed copy is also included as part of *État et Dénombrement de la population du poste de la Nouvelle Bourbon des Illinois* . . . which is in the same legajo.

Ibid., Legajo 129: Petition of Margarita Lacaille, St. Louis, December 2, 1796, endorsed by Lieutenant Governor Trudeau, the following day. The midwife, Margarita Lacaille, came to St. Louis from Gallipolis in January, 1794. Carondelet promised her a pension, but she worked with the poor and instructed women in midwifery until December, 1796, at least, with only charity for compensation.

²⁷A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 210: Correspondence between De Luzières and Carondelet, February 1-13, 1794. *Ibid.*, Vallé Letterbook, Legajo 209: Letter from François Vallé to Zenon Trudeau, No. 7, February 24, 1794.

would stay in Ste. Genevieve.²⁸ Carondelet, however, believed that circumstances were not favorable for the establishment and that the sisters would be cared for better at the Ursuline convent in the capital. Therefore, in November, 1794, they descended to New Orleans,²⁹ and the citizens of Ste. Genevieve had to renew their search for teachers.

On July 11 of the same year, another barge in which De Luzières had an interest drifted out of the Ohio river and across the Mississippi to New Madrid. This flatboat was in charge of a young unmarried Breton gentleman, Augustine Charles Frémon de Laurière.³⁰ Frémon was a native of St. Père

²⁸Yealy, *Sainte Genevieve, The Story of Missouri's Oldest Settlement*, p. 123. In commenting briefly on this incident, Father Yealy emphasizes the fact that Madame Peyroux's will did not mention educational work and that it was outside the scope of the rule of the Clarisse order. However, there seemed to be no doubt among the Spanish officials that the nuns would take up educational work as soon as the government gave its approval. *A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 209*: Official letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, April 11, 1794. Soon after coming to Ste. Genevieve, two of the nuns, Mesdames De Lamarche and Rochefoucault, went to St. Louis to solicit Trudeau's sponsorship in establishing a cloister. They then crossed to Kentucky, where they were "commissioned by the Bishop of Baltimore for very important and delicate things of the ecclesiastical ministry." They awaited an "almshouse" in Kentucky, expecting to return to Spanish Illinois in a few days to take charge of the education of girls (the manuscript reads *gens*). Trudeau asked Carondelet to consider the establishment which he regarded "as very advantageous in a country where the manners have need of an example and young women of education." He made a strong bid to have them cloistered at St. Louis as its "local position is infinitely more susceptible to aggrandisement than Ste. Genevieve which is a frightful place." Once established, the *religieuses* proposed to call several of their order to join them; if the Spanish government failed them, they planned to accept an offer from Canada.

In the same letter, Trudeau commented on the conduct of Father St. Pierre of Ste. Genevieve. He reported that the well-liked priest "somewhat scandalized our nuns whom he counselled to go to establish themselves at New Madrid or to be married." "It is certain," Trudeau continued, "that he always would be a better director of grenadiers than of nuns."

²⁹*A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 21*: Letters from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, May 16, 1794, and Carondelet to Thomas Portell, New Orleans, May 20, 1794. *Ibid.*, *Legajo 210*: Letter from Cruzet de St. Martial, "*anc. Méd. du roy de France*," to "Monsieur le Baron," New Madrid, February 8, 1794. The abbess was Dame Marie Genevieve de la Marche and the other nuns were Marie Marguerite Céleste Leblond de la Roche and Marie Frances Chevallier. A young priest named Michel Bernard Barriere who accompanied the nuns was granted the parish of Atakapas in lower Louisiana with a salary of 30 pesos per month.

See Perez, Luis Marino, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives*, p. 103.

³⁰Billon in his *Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, p. 471, says that Frémon de Laurière was Lord of Bouffoy and Des Croix. Billon neglects Frémon's career as an educator. Most of Frémon's French and Spanish contemporaries spelled his name with a final "t."

Curet, Nantes, and according to his own statement had served in the counter-revolutionary army of Vendée. As further proof of his royalistic leanings, Frémon exhibited a cloth scapular, which he claimed contained a consecrated host. This brought suspicion upon his head. The Spanish command claimed that Frémon's possession of the host profaned it and by implication made him a revolutionist. The parish priest opened the scapular and found nothing. Nevertheless, the Spanish officer dispatched the pieces of cloth with some of Frémon's papers to the governor general for his determination.³¹

Frémon had lost a part of his fortune in the revolution but seems to have been able to bring some means with him. Intending to settle permanently in Spanish Louisiana, he made an oath of loyalty to the Spanish crown. In the following year, he commanded a detachment of volunteer militia on an expedition on the Mississippi. Although for a time he was implicated in the matter of the consecrated host, the incident was forgotten and Frémon soon won the regard of the leading inhabitants of the district.³²

In his constant search for talent, De Luzières recognized Frémon's capacities and persuaded him to head an ambitious educational program in Ste. Genevieve. Encouraged by this friend of the governor and with the approbation of François Vallé, who succeeded Peyroux as commandant of the village, Frémon organized a school and opened classes. In order to gain the approval of the governor general, Frémon outlined his program in a prospectus entitled "An educational program suitable to the youth of [Spanish] Illinois."³³ De Luzières,

³¹A. G. I., P. de C., *Legajo* 29: Letter from Portell to Carondelet, No. 302, New Madrid, July 15, 1794. *Ibid.*, *Legajo* 21: Letter from Portell to Gayoso de Lemos, New Madrid, July 17, 1794. *Ibid.*, *Legajo* 31: Letter from Portell to Carondelet, New Madrid, March 12, 1795.

³²*Ibid.* *Executive Documents, Private Land Claims in Missouri*, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 59, p. 308: Claim made by Frémon to Trudeau, St. Louis, January 15, 1797.

The Spaniards maintained militiamen as guards at the mouth of the Ohio during 1794 and 1795, and it was probably in one of these units that Frémon served.

³³A. G. I., P. de C., *Legajo* 212A: *Copie d'un plan D'éducation propre a La jeunesse des Illinois proposé par M. De Frémon et dont l'exécution est déjà entamée avec l'approbation du Commandant de Ste. Genevieve.* This document is a

describing this document as a "rational plan," forwarded a copy to Governor Carondelet and requested his sponsorship of it.

It is unlikely that such a pragmatic educational program had been proposed previously in the Mississippi valley. Certainly French educational thought rarely had such direct influence in America. It seems very probable that Frémon based his plan upon the work of a fellow Breton whose ideas had dominated French educational theory from 1763 until the era of the revolution. This writer was Louis-René de la Chalotais, *procureur général au Parlement de Rennes*, who in 1763 had published an *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse*⁴ which has become an educational classic. It must be recalled that in this work La Chalotais had directed a polemic against the Jesuits and had made a strong appeal for nationalism in education. Frémon abstracted the valuable educational principles from La Chalotais' work without, however, retaining the venom of his attack upon monastic teaching.

Frémon's philosophy of education as revealed in his outlined program is a very brief summary of many ideas found in La Chalotais' essay.

Education is a point so essential and so important that upon it alone depends quite generally the destiny of our life. A good education gives us the necessary forces to sustain adversities and the means for relieving ourselves of them. It enlightens us in the true principles of virtue and the true philosophy; and that it is necessary besides to detest wrong and love good. While applying oneself to worthwhile occupations, it is necessary at least that they all have a moral objective, and it is especially these wholesome ethics which must be the least neglected in education.

very unique manuscript in the Spanish archives. As far as the author knows, no record of Frémon's "Plan" nor of his activities as a schoolmaster in colonial Louisiana has been preserved in this country.

⁴La Chalotais' *Essay on National Education* is now available in translation in De La Fontainerie, François, (ed. & trans.), *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century: The Writings of La Chalotais, Turgot, Diderot, and Condorcet on National Education*. A summary also appears in Compayré, Gabriel, *Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Éducation en France depuis le Seizième Siècle*, Vol. II, pp. 216-28, and in Compayré, *History of Pedagogy*, translated by William H. Payne, pp. 341-61.

Obviously, Frémon had a high regard for general education, especially as a preparation for life. To this end, he wished to fit education to the needs and interests of his pupils. He put into a constructive, usable form the philosophy which La Chalotais had revealed in his criticism of the then existing practices.³⁵

As Spanish was little known in Ste. Genevieve, Frémon proposed to conduct classes in the French language. He planned to develop the principles of the language,³⁶ to teach writing, arithmetic, and finally, the elements of mathematics and geography. In general, his course of study was similar to those advocated by the progressive thinkers of the era.

After revealing his philosophy of education and outlining in a general way his proposed course of study, Frémon made several statements concerning his program:

First: Two times a week (Wednesday evening and Friday morning) there will be conferences among the pupils, all in their respective classes, concerning the object of their studies, concerning their filial virtues, concerning the duties which we owe to each other reciprocally, concerning the love and fidelity which we owe to our August Monarch and Sovereign, concerning oratory, memory, etc.³⁷

It is apparent that Frémon intended his pupils to participate in these conferences, that he was attempting to integrate their studies through a mutual exchange of ideas. Stripped of its odd-sounding phraseology, this statement might be a foreword to a guidance program in a progressive twentieth century school. It includes motivation, family relationships, social adjustments, and patriotism. Oratory seems a bit out of place in this category, but what modern guidance program does not offer aids to effective study?

La Chalotais had urged that pupils should write about their occupations, their amusements, or their troubles, in

³⁵De La Fontainerie, *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 56. Frémon's "true principles" and "true philosophy" parallel La Chalotais' "principles by which to judge actions, morals, opinions, and customs."

³⁶No doubt Frémon meant reading.

³⁷As training for citizenship is given an important place in this statement, we might conclude that Frémon was influenced by Turgot's *Memorial to the King* (1775).

contrast to the formal and meaningless compositions which were usually required of children. That Frémon was influenced, in a degree, by this concept is shown in his next statement:

Second: There shall be made in writing and in correspondence form all the questions which one has to propose, and the same form will be used in answering them. Attention will be given in the responses to correcting the errors, as much in the writing, spelling, and style, as in the thoughts.

As a further stimulant to accomplishment, Frémon resorted to devices which, while frowned upon, still have wide-spread usage.

Third: Every month the ratings will be designated by number in each class according to the compositions and examinations, and the first in each one will have superintendence of his comrades.

Despite the wording of this statement, it is hardly justifiable to conclude that Frémon was a precursor of the monitorial system which was to be so popular during the next decade. La Chalotais, thirty years before, had advocated that most of the work be done by the teachers and that "advanced students would give demonstrations to the younger and less advanced."

Fourth: Every three months there will be some prizes accorded to the students who will have answered best the questions that will be given to them in a public examination.

The use of prizes for motivation was a common practice in the best schools of France, and while modern educators no longer give "tea cups and saucers," the principle is often retained undiminished.

La Chalotais had advocated dividing students into two groups, the first including children of 5 to 10 years of age and the second those of 10 to 17 years of age. Frémon included in his program much the same subject matter that La Chalotais had suggested for the first group. Frémon further divided his students into three levels within this group.

Fifth: The students will be distributed in three classes. The first will be comprised of those who are learning the catechism and to read,

the second those who will learn writing and the first rules of arithmetic, and the third and last, those who will learn the elements of mathematics, grammar, geography, etc.

In Spanish America, the first purpose of education was to teach submission to the monarch and the church.³⁸ A failure to mention the teaching of religion would have been heretical. Hence, Frémon rather unenthusiastically wrote:

Sixth: Religion shall not be forgotten either, and effort will be made to instruct the youth in the true principles of Apostolic, Roman Christian virtues.

Physical training was given very little if any place in the American schools of this period. Recreation was not considered generally to come within the scope of education. Criticizing French education, La Chalotais had declared that the "care of health, the means of preserving it and physical exercises have been too much overlooked."³⁹ He included physical recreation in his program and advocated walks, excursions, merriment, and recreation. Frémon applied such ideas in his proposal that:

Seventh: For recreation there will be provided for the young people some exercises suitable for developing in them vivacity, dexterity, and agility, such as dancing, wrestling, running, the *barres*, and other games suitable to produce these effects.

For children above the commonalty, La Chalotais had wanted to include dancing and music. Of the cultural subjects, Frémon recommended:

Eighth: Finally, an attempt shall be made to facilitate for the students the means of instructing themselves in the principles of design, of painting, and of music. It will not be forgotten, moreover, to have fre-

³⁸Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, The Spanish Domination*, pp. 378-79. In a dispatch dated November 1, 1795, Bishop Pénalver made this comment concerning education in the province: "As to what the boys are taught in the Spanish school, it is soon forgotten. Should their education be continued in a college, they would be confirmed in their religious principles, in the good habits given to them, and in their loyalty as faithful vassals, to the crown." Cf. the educational objectives given in Bjork, "Documents relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana, 1771," *loc. cit.*

³⁹De La Fontainerie, *French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 56.

quent conferences with them concerning the best principles of agriculture practiced with success in France and England.

This curious paragraph permits an understanding of Frémon's idealistically progressive spirit combined with a good sense of practical values. Perhaps it is worthy of note, that the rather celebrated "Louisiana Academy" which was opened in the same village fourteen years later failed to recognize the educational value of these activities. It is remarkable, however, that the "non-essentials of education" should have been given this much consideration in a small frontier town.

The study of the principles of agriculture was especially practical. Upper Louisiana had a vast market for agricultural products in the lower part of the colony. Very often, however, because of primitive methods used, there was not enough food produced to supply the *habitants*. As the Spanish officials were vigorously encouraging better agricultural practices, this proposal was certain to meet with approval.

During this entire period, the people of Louisiana were drawn closer to the Anglo-Americans east of the Mississippi and to the British in Canada. Trade and emigration raised problems of language which were being met very inadequately. At the same time, Spanish, a tongue which very few understood, was the official language of the province.⁴⁰ Frémon summarized this problem and optimistically proposed to alleviate it somewhat.

Concerning the English and Spanish Languages: It is to be noticed that the proximity of this part of the colony with the United States of America must necessarily bring about and maintain in various respects, a correspondence of commerce and of business between the two nations, especially in accordance with the Treaty concluded recently between them [Pinckney's Treaty], which renders the use of the English language necessary and indispensable. It is proposed, consequently, within a short

⁴⁰This led to many unpleasant and some amusing incidents. In 1796, the commandant of New Madrid posted a proclamation in French and English because not a single person could be found who understood Spanish. Several of the officials, including François Vallé, had difficulty with the language and had to conduct their correspondence in French. Valentine Layssard, commandant at Rapides, not only could not read Spanish, but could not find anyone in the post who understood the language.

time, to unite to the French school already established, an English one as well as a Spanish one *if it is possible to obtain without delay a French-Spanish grammar and dictionary*. The method of which it is proposed to make use of in the instruction of the two languages will be simple and easy, and with only ordinary intelligence one will be able to make as rapid progress as is possible to desire.

It is to be regretted that the teacher did not explain further this "simple and easy" method of teaching foreign languages. We can rest assured, however, that it was not the laborious and involved method used to teach Latin and Greek. The complete lack of mention of the classical languages in the course of study is another indication of the influence of La Chalotais. La Chalotais had advocated the study of languages only for those who would use them. He had desired to cut the classical languages from the curriculum of many. Among the modern languages, he had considered German and English to be necessary—German as an aid in war-time negotiations, and English as an aid to understanding scientific developments. To the French Creoles of Louisiana, Spanish and English were the useful languages.

Frémon's most serious and immediate problem was the acquisition of textbooks. In May, 1795, Pierre Charles, son of Madame Peyroux, had "bequeathed revenue from land and a collection of books" with which to equip a classroom for the *collège de garçons*. This library contained books of classical literature, art, and agriculture. Frémon's school may not have benefited from this bequest, but Sieur de Luzières and his son had libraries upon which the schoolmaster drew. The latter, Charles Dehault Delassus, donated "*au Collège*" a thirteen-volume set of *Ancient History* and a sixteen-volume set of *Roman History*.⁴¹ Some of the other inhabitants owned a few books. For the rest, books were hardly obtainable in the settlement. The government discouraged the dissemination of printed material and even co-operated with the church to prescribe a long list of publications. Booksellers were practically unknown in Louisiana,

⁴¹John Francis McDermott in *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis*, p. 126, suggests that these sets were works of Charles Rollin.

making it necessary to order from France and Spain. In consequence, Frémon's list of texts was very simple:

Concerning Books: The grammar of M. Restaut, the treatise of M. Besout [Besont?], a geography *Errante Ou L'amis de la Jeunesse*, ancient and modern history, *Le Poème des jardins* of M. L'Abbé de Lille, some good dictionaries, a terrestrial globe, an armillary sphere, a complete atlas of maps, and a study of mathematics.⁴³

This book list does not necessarily indicate Frémon's preferences. Without doubt, it includes those titles which he could reasonably expect to get. The *Grammaire* of Pierre Restaut has become a French *classique*. Moreover, several families in upper Louisiana had copies of the text. The very title of the geography indicates the influence of La Chalotais, who had wanted pupils to "travel agreeably in the different countries, and would make known to them all that is important and curious." The Abbé Delille was one of the most popular poets of the day. His verses are known for their simple but effective description, imagery, appreciation of nature, and profuse allusions to classical mythology. While *Les Jardins* is not now considered to be the best of his works, it was widely read. Its content afforded an excellent basis for a correlative study of geography, history, and other subjects.⁴⁴ Frémon did not indicate the means by which he would use the atlases and spheres. La Chalotais had contended that mere acquaintance with spheres and other tools of science had an intrinsic value. Frémon, perhaps, held the same view and of course knew their value as reference aids.

⁴³Restaut, Pierre, *Principes Généraux et Raisonnés de la Grammaire Française, avec des observations sur l'orthographe, les accents, la ponctuation et la prononciation*. The "treatise of M. Besout" may possibly be Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's *De La Connaissance de Dieu et de Soi-Même*, which was the first of a remarkable trilogy written for the instruction of the Dauphin. The poem "des jardins" is "*Les jardins, ou L'art d'embellir les paysages, poème*," by Jacques Montanier dit L'Abbé Delille.

⁴⁴With one probable exception these books were not designed for use by children, but books written especially for children were practically unknown. In 1763, La Chalotais pointed out the need for such printed material and it is possible that the volume *Errante ou L'amis de la Jeunesse* was a direct outgrowth of the realization that school children needed especially prepared material.

Frémon closed the document with a modest statement that:

It is believed that the execution of this plan, well followed out, will suffice for procuring education and creating emulation in the youth, in general gentle and docile, who have been deprived up to the present of the means of being instructed in the true principles.

Done at Ste. Genevieve, Illinois, April 1, 1796

(Signed) Augustine Charles Frémon De Laurière

In no part of Frémon's program is there mention of discipline. He scarcely hinted at problems of order and made no mention of punishment for poor conduct or inattention. Instead, he described the boys as gentle and docile. Contemporary travelers as well commented upon the innate courtesy of adults and youth alike. Nevertheless, they were vigorous boys who loved to hunt and play with a reckless spirit. How did Frémon plan to bend these energetic youths to study? Perhaps the solution is in the word emulation—emulation of the schoolmaster who was a young and vigorous man, and emulation of those who were to win in the periodic examinations.

Governor Carondelet approved this unique and well-considered program. On September 15, 1796, he authorized De Luzières to "announce to *Sieur de Frémon* that in a short time he could procure for him a small pension from the government to encourage him to maintain this very valuable establishment for the instruction of young people." This stipend, however, did not materialize. For a time at least, the commandant of Ste. Genevieve aided him by permitting him to draw up deeds, contracts, wills, *et cetera*, and share the fees.⁴⁴

Frémon conducted his school at Ste. Genevieve for at least two years and very probably until the latter part of 1798. The inhabitants of the village and the neighboring post of New Bourbon were very well satisfied with his efforts.

⁴⁴A. G. I., P. de C., Legajo 2365: *Observations* of De Luzières, December 1, 1797. *Ibid.*, Legajo 214: Two drafts, one in Carondelet's handwriting, to De Luzières, New Orleans, June 3, 1797, and reply from De Luzières to Carondelet, September 21, 1797.

Interest spread, and a school was proposed for the post of Cape Girardeau. De Luzières praised Frémon's diligence and active zeal and urged Carondelet's successor, Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, to interest himself in getting the promised pension for Frémon. The old *seigneur* pleaded:

. . . were it only twenty *piastres* each month it would suffice at least to procure for him the means of sending to foreign countries for all the necessary books of instruction to teach his pupils the English and Spanish languages and to provide for the expenses of salary, fuel and lighting for his public school.⁴⁵

So far as is known, the Spanish government never granted aid to Frémon's school. Apparently, during the last few years of Spanish domination, the young people of Ste. Genevieve were untutored.

Frémon's activities were typical of the better class, the educated émigrés. As did many others, he found an asylum in Louisiana and repaid hospitality with his talents. After relinquishing his school, Frémon continued to derive some income by acting as official witness to many documents. In practice, although not legally, he was, for several years the prothonotary for the Ste. Genevieve district.⁴⁶ His signature is found on many legal documents until 1802. On occasion, he served as executor of legal decisions rendered by Vallé.⁴⁷ It seems that during this period he was also called upon from time to time to act as deputy surveyor.⁴⁸

In 1797, Frémon petitioned for a grant of 10,000 arpents of land near the Prairie à Rondo in the Ste. Genevieve district, declaring that he wished to have property "upon which he might settle permanently." The petition was granted immediately, but Frémon did not improve the property until three years later. In 1801, he sent men to build a house and make improvements. Because of the urgency of another

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, Legajo 2305: *Observations* of De Luzières, December 1, 1797.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, Legajo 214: Drafts [from Carondelet] to De Luzières, June 3, 1797. Carondelet had advised against attempting to have Frémon appointed as notary because the position required an examination and a fluent knowledge of Spanish.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Legajos 135, 212A, 215A, 218, 2368, and others.

⁴⁸*Executive Documents, Private Land Claims in Missouri*, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 59, p. 24: Testimony of Albert Tison, November 19, 1833.

venture, he discontinued the work and finally transferred the land.⁴⁹

Frémon married Josephine Céleste Chauvet Dubreuil in St. Louis on May 21, 1799.⁵⁰ Only a few days before he and Louis Labeaume had been granted permission to locate a workable saline. Their choice was La Saline Ensanglantée about a day's journey up the Ohaha river, the Salt river, at a great distance from St. Louis and on the extreme frontier of the Spanish settlements. In the winter of 1800-1801, Frémon and Labeaume took oxen, kettles, and other utensils to the site and began to make salt. In March, 1801, Frémon carried samples of his product to Lieutenant Governor Delassus asking for a grant of 10,000 arpents of land including the saline. In making the grant, Delassus stated that the salt was "a great deal preferable to the other salt made in small quantity and of bad quality in the other salines."⁵¹

Having invested heavily in equipment, Frémon wound up his affairs in Ste. Genevieve. He gave over to Vallé his duties as *greffier* and took his family to the saline where he could supervise the making of salt. This enterprise was beset with difficulties. The saline was a great distance from any settlement and the Indians were hostile. Frémon's group was obliged to fortify itself, using a small cannon for defense. During the first year or so, they were in constant danger of attack.⁵²

Despite difficulties, Frémon continued to manufacture salt on a large scale. He claimed to have caused the price of salt to drop from \$6 a bushel to one-half that price. In addi-

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 308: Claim made by Frémon de Laurière to Zenon Trudeau, St. Louis, January 15, 1797.

⁵⁰Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, p. 453.

⁵¹*Executive Documents, Private Land Claims in Missouri*, 24th Cong. 1st Sess., No. 59, pp. 321-322: Petition of Frémon and L. Labeaume to Trudeau, St. Louis, May 13, 1799, and to Delassus, St. Louis, March 25, 1801, and Delassus' grant, March 26, 1801.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, 323: Testimony of Frémon, November 18, 1833, and abstract of testimony of Albert Tison, November 19, 1833. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103: Frémon's brother-in-law, Antoine Dubreuil, sought to locate at a nearby saline. Frémon loaned him ten kettles and some of his men. In February, 1803, however, Dubreuil was attacked, some of his men killed, and the rest of the party was forced to seek refuge at Frémon's establishment.

tion to the difficulties of transporting the product to markets, Frémont had other problems of distribution such as a high Spanish tax. The loss of several loads of salt in the Salt and Mississippi rivers was a serious blow. The enterprise finally reduced Frémont to poverty.⁵³

Work at the saline probably ceased early in 1805. A year later a settlement seems to have been arranged between Frémont and Louis Labeaume; Frémont transferred title of his 10,000 arpents near Ste. Genevieve while his partner deeded his claims to the property of the saline.⁵⁴

In 1805, Frémont was appointed deputy surveyor in the St. Charles district. He was active in that capacity during 1805 and the following year. Record of his work indicates that he surveyed in the vicinity of his saline on the Salt river. Here once again he had trouble with the Sac and Fox Indians. Although his party consisted of five men, all well-armed, he was twice driven off, and finally was forced to abandon some of the surveys because of the continued hostility of the Indians.⁵⁵

There is very little information available at present concerning Frémont's activities after 1806. In 1833, he was called to give testimony in regard to Spanish methods of making concessions and to matters relative to surveys. Unfortunately, he did not reveal further details of his occupations during the three intervening decades of American control. His own concession on the Salt river had been granted by Delassus, surveyed, and recorded. The congressional act of 1807, however, specifically forbade confirmation of grants which included a saline or a lead mine. Therefore, the first board of commissioners refused to confirm the grant. Nevertheless, in 1833, a new board operating under the more liberal act of 1832 unanimously recommended confirmation.⁵⁶

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 323: Abstract of testimony of Albert Tison. See also p. 103.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 309-323.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, Petition of Frémont to Don Antonio Soulard, surveyor general of upper Louisiana, February 15, 1806. See also pp. 77, 79, 102, 103, 427.

⁵⁶The first board probably was influenced as well by the fact that the grant was larger than permitted and that there was an irregularity in recording the survey. Congress made final confirmation in 1836.

Educational facilities in colonial Spanish Louisiana were notoriously meagre. New Orleans and a very few towns had small primary schools where the rudiments of learning were taught. The only known effort to conduct a frontier school above the most elementary level was made in Ste. Genevieve. In this remote frontier village on the upper Mississippi river, a French émigré headed an educational program which would have been a credit to the capital of the province.

The teaching program which Frémon de Laurière proposed and effected for two years or more in Ste. Genevieve was an unique extension of French educational theory to the American frontier. Frémon's program was practical and designed to fit the needs of the people of Ste. Genevieve. He was limited to be sure, by the lack of books and financial support, while his students had most inadequate educational backgrounds.

As a summary of his philosophy of education, Frémon regarded the functions of education to be two-fold: First, to prepare for participation in economic life; and second, to inculcate the universal principles of proper conduct.

His basic courses included reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. To these he added grammar, Spanish, English, religion, poetry, music, art, oratory, and agriculture. He made no mention of the classical languages. In addition to formal studies, Frémon made provisions for guidance and physical education programs.

In curriculum content as well as teaching procedures, Frémon was many decades ahead of the traditional American school. He did not mention discipline and seems to have substituted the modern devices, motivation and integration of studies with pupil interest.

Although Frémon's school was described as an "*ecole publique*" these words must not be translated too literally. No doubt it was public only in the sense that it had the approval of the government and anyone who wished to contribute could avail himself of the services Frémon offered. It was, however, the desire of Frémon and his friends that the school be supported by the crown. Had the Spanish govern-

ment been more liberal, many more could have benefited from the establishment.

That his school had to be abandoned does not imply that Frémon's efforts were without permanent value. Under very difficult circumstances, Augustine Charles Frémon de Laurière carried forward the lamp of learning in Ste. Genevieve for a period of two years. True, his services were soon forgotten, sole record being preserved in the musty archives of Spain, and there is no indication that his ideas or precedence influenced the trend of formal education in upper Louisiana. Ste. Genevieve, however, was the one post in Spanish Louisiana wherein the inhabitants strove to preserve the light of European culture. Because of the constant efforts of several families, this objective was achieved in a marked degree and the village remained the cultural center of upper Louisiana for several years.

FORT ORLEANS OF THE MISSOURY

BY GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

Fort Orleans, earliest military post in the Missouri valley, ran its brief career of five years from 1723 to 1728 on the north bank of the Missouri river, some two miles west of the Wakenda river in what is now Carroll county, Missouri. Its founder, the French military officer, Étienne Véniard de Bourgmond, filled the various roles of adventurer, explorer, frontiersman, and military and civil administrator of no mean capacity.¹

History meets him first in Canada, where, a raw and undisciplined youth, he rose to something like distinction in the colonial forces. Not more than an ensign, he was appointed in January, 1707, commandant *ad interim* at Detroit. There, with only fifteen Frenchmen, he fought off a Fox attack with surprising success. Yet, six months later, he was a deserter from the king's service. Arrested and put on trial with other deserters, he was acquitted, a piece of good fortune he owed, it would appear, to the intervention of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac.

Later, in 1712, occurred another Indian attack on Detroit. That time, the local commandant, Dubuisson, saw a party of Missouri Indians come to his relief. The incident is a curious one. Just how the western tribe happened to engage in warfare several hundred miles away from its native habitat, what bonds of association linked it with the Detroit authorities, is not on record. At all events, it was on the occasion of this military incident at Detroit that Bourgmond

¹Garraghan, Gilbert J., "New Light on Old Cahokia," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (October, 1928), pp. 118 ff. A letter written by Father Marc Bergier from Cahokia to Quebec, April 13, 1701, notes that "a fort had been built" at the Des Peres village on the right bank of the Mississippi almost directly across from Cahokia and therefore within the limits of Missouri. But this was scarcely a regularly organized military fort.

See De Villiers du Terrage, Baron Marc, *La Découverte du Missouri et L'Histoire du Fort D'Orléans*, p. 41, for the spelling of "Bourgmond." De Villiers is the major source drawn upon for this article. For a sketch of him, see *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (October, 1936), pp. 1068-1704.

first made the acquaintance of the Missouri. The story goes that he fell in love with a maiden of the tribe and when the Indians retraced their steps westward, he went along with them.²

For five years, 1713-1718, Bourgmond led the life of a *coureur de bois* up and down the Missouri river. He made the acquaintance one after another of the Indian tribes along its banks, and so ingratiated himself with them as to become their idol. In 1714, he headed an exploring expedition on the Missouri from its mouth to the Platte.

The log of the expedition was taken from the *Archives du Service Hydrographique* in Paris and published for the first time by Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage in 1925.³ It is a document of "desperate topographical dryness," as its editor describes it, but for all its aridity it has undeniable interest for the historian of primitive Missouri. With it, the permanent record of the scientific exploration of the trans-Mississippi's major stream begins.

In 1714 or later, Bourgmond seems to have extended his exploration of the Missouri to localities as far upstream as the Dakotas. A description of the Missouri country contiguous to the river as far north as the Aricara villages, apparently penned by Bourgmond and assigned by De Villiers to 1717, furnishes the earliest detailed account we possess of this section of the West.⁴ The author writes in glowing terms of the rich country along the way, especially of the Kansas

²De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, pp. 41 ff.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 46 ff. The log bears the caption, *Routte qu'il faut tenir pour monter la Rivière du Missouri*. Some of the Missouri river islands mentioned in the document have apparently disappeared. The last entry in the log is for Saturday, June 16, 1714: "To North, one league; at the start an island of a half-league [Tobacco Island]. To West, a prairie a league long at the end of which is found the river of the Panis [Pawnee]. Its outlet is larger than the Missouri at this point. About thirty leagues up this river one finds ten villages of the Indians they call the Panis." Bourgmond had been anticipated in navigation of the upper Missouri by other Frenchmen, e.g., by Derbanne, subsequently commandant at Natchitoches in 1706 or 1707. No record of his exploration survives. See Garraghan, Gilbert J., *Chapters in Frontier History*, pp. 55-84.

⁴De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* pp. 45, 49 ff. The description bears the caption *Exacte Description de la Louisiane, de ses ports, terres et rivières et noms des nations sauvages qui l'occupent et des commerces et avantages qui l'on peut tirer dans l'établissement d'une colonie*.

valley. Here are "the finest lands in the world;" the "prairies are like seas" and alive with game and fur-bearing animals in numbers "passing imagination." In giving a picture of the physical aspects of the Missouri river scene in what may be almost called its prehistoric stage, this document is unique.

Bourgmond was, therefore, it is plain, something more than a mere *coureur de bois*, breaking with the restraints of civilization and consorting recklessly with the wild men of the muddy Missouri. That he had deserted the king's service once, if not twice, does not seem to have been held against him by authorities during the years he spent in western adventure. Some magnetism, some gift of leadership drew the Indians to him in amazing fashion.

Bienville, governor of Louisiana, began to look to him as one of the props of the French cause in Louisiana, while the Company of the Indies, leaseholder of the colony, moved to engage him in some major capacity. On September 25, 1718, Bienville petitioned the French government to bestow the Cross of St. Louis on Bourgmond. Just when he quit the Missouri country is not clear, but we find him present at the taking of Pensacola in Florida, May 15, 1719.

Meanwhile, the colonial council was anxious to have Bourgmond return to the Missouri to negotiate some pressing business with the Indians; but he declined the commission and on October 28, 1719, took passage for France. He went warmly recommended. "There is at the moment in Paris," affirms a memorial of contemporary date, "a subject highly fitted to govern the Indians. He is a gentleman of Normandy, M. de Bourmont, a man of incomparable valor, whose achievements all the Indians of this quarter [the Illinois country] know and admire. If they had him at their head they would be equal to any undertaking."⁵ Boisbriant, commandant in the Illinois country, wrote on October 5, 1720: "He had great influence over the Indians when he was there. They demand him back with eagerness on every occasion."⁶

Nowhere was the arresting figure from the Illinois country better received than in the directorate of the Com-

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶*Ibid.*

pany of the Indies. This distinguished body commissioned him captain of the Louisiana troops, July 26, 1720, and "Commandant on the Missouri River" on August 12, following. Finally, on October 22, 1720, the king conferred on him the Cross of St. Louis.

The two major charges imposed on Bourgmund in the commission given him by the Company of the Indies were to build a fort on the Missouri river and to get in touch with the Padoucas or Comanches with a view to securing their good will and support as allies against the Spaniards who had begun to trespass on the Missouri valley, a French preserve. A party under Captain Villasur, the so-called "Spanish expedition," had been wiped out by Loup Pawnee Indians on the Platte. A fort on the Missouri would be an excellent device to keep the meddlesome Spaniards within bounds.⁷

Bourgmund left France for New Orleans in June, 1722. There he ran into difficulties. No preparation had been made for the expedition to the Missouri despite the orders to that effect from the Company of the Indies. Governor Bienville was not disposed to lend support. Equipping the expedition with necessary supplies meant that his own storehouses at New Orleans would have to be stripped, and only for the benefit of a post "so remote and little necessary." Bienville, formerly sympathetic to the project, had thus executed a complete *volte face*.

But the tenacious Bourgmund would not be balked in his plans. He had full official authority for making the venture and set himself accordingly, despite any handicap, to carry it out, starting up the Mississippi in February, 1723. The troops he was able to muster fell below the needed quota and, miserably provisioned, many of them deserted along the way. At Cahokia, he impressed into his service the local garrison, which consisted of the ensign, Louis Saint-Ange de Bellerive, the missionary chaplain, Abbé Jean Baptiste Mercier, of the Society of Foreign Missions, and six soldiers.

Thanks to aid lent by the Missouri Indians, who came to meet Bourgmund at the Mississippi, the convoy finally got

⁷The best account of the Spanish massacre is in Thomas, Alfred B., (ed.), *After Coronado: Spanish Explorations Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*.

on its way, and, turning into the Missouri, moved up that little-known stream. The convoy was made up of three barges and a number of canoes, with a personnel of some forty Frenchmen. The three officers who accompanied Bourgmond, Jean de Pradel, Simars de Belisle, and Saint-Ange de Bellerive, were to have parts to play in subsequent Louisiana history. On November 9 or 10, having passed the Grand and Wakenda rivers, the expedition arrived at the Missouri village on the south bank of the Missouri in what is now Saline county, Missouri. More or less directly across the river on the north bank of the Missouri, Fort Orleans was to be laid out.⁸

Dissensions between Bourgmond and the officers, Pradel and Belisle, broke out while the party was still on its way; they continued after it had reached its destination. The grounds alleged by the officers for their opposition to the commandant are disclosed in a letter which Bourgmond penned "From Fort Orleans of the Missouri," January 2, 1724.⁹ From the same letter, we learn some of the incidents which attended the establishment of the Missouri post.

When the party arrived at the site, there remained provisions for only fifteen days. Structures immediately necessary were hastily put up by the fifteen soldiers of the garrison. Bourgmond's letter, written nearly two months after the party arrived at the scene, tells that the buildings put up included a warehouse or magazine, a dwelling for the chaplain and one for the hired workmen of the Company of the Indies, and a "separate apartment to serve as a church." A forge and a powder magazine were soon added. Bourgmond saw to it that everybody was comfortably under cover before he himself had shelter. His house, of upright logs, was thatched with grass and had no chimney. Fires were made on the floor in the Indian manner.

On January 11, 1724, Bourgmond wrote: "We have fifteen soldiers, who have been working at the fort since Christmas. We have only two men to work on the buildings and fortifications. How can you expect me to build a solid fort

⁸De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* . . . , pp. 88, 94.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

with these two men?"¹⁰ In his letter of January 2, Bourgmond asserted that a fortnight previous he had given orders to the officer Belisle to have a plan made of the fort and bastions so that work could be started on a powder magazine in one of the bastions. What buildings were subsequently erected does not appear.

A plan of the fort drawn by François Dumont *dit* Montigny indicates some twenty buildings in all at Fort Orleans, the whole establishment having the air of a military post of unusual size and power of defense. But it is a question to what extent the Dumont plan represents a physical reality and not merely an engineer's or artist's conception of what might or ought to have been. In favor, however, of the accuracy of the plan, is the circumstance that some of its details find confirmatory evidence in Bourgmond's letter of January 2, 1724.

The commandant's jurisdiction at the fort was limited in peculiar ways. To some of the personnel he could make requests, whereas frequently his orders to the same were ignored. On the whole, nevertheless, he seems to have put the place into running order and certainly, if his own testimony can be relied on, he did not spare himself.

When I was putting up in an Indian cabin, having had to abandon a miserable cloth tent where it rained and snowed just as on the outside, and at a time when it was freezing to a degree that made one ill, all the rest being lodged, you did not even offer me a place where I could put my mattress. I did in fact ask Sergeant St. Roch if there were not some soldiers who could make me, for pay, a little fence to provide cover for five pigs and twenty chickens from the dogs of the Canzes, who were about to arrive in four or five days; it was a matter of the first consequence to save these animals, and thus provision this fort at one strike. . . . Without said fence, the Canzes Indians' dogs would have slaughtered them for me by day and night, it being the way of these dogs to slaughter animals.¹¹

On Christmas Eve and the day before, fifteen soldiers, being paid each "forty livres, the price at the sea, or sixty-four in merchandise," made a fence 50 by 30 feet around Bourgmond's yard. In this connection, Bourgmond com-

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 96.

ments sarcastically that Christmas Eve and the day before were well-earned days of rest for the soldiers as "they had inaugurated work on the fortifications on the 22d by cutting down *one* post!"¹²

In the spring of 1724, things had become so well settled at Fort Orleans that Bourgmond felt he could safely undertake his peace mission to the Padoucas. Both Bienville and Boisbriant had attempted to discourage the expedition, alleging that it promised no worth-while results, but Bourgmond threatened to return to Europe if crossed in his plans. Boisbriant yielded before the threat and sent him from the Illinois country under the conduct of Saint-Ange de Bellerive and the engineer, La Renaudière de Quesnel, and with the merchandise necessary for the Padouca venture.

Ensign Saint-Ange set out with a convoy of heavily laden pirogues on June 25, 1724. Eight days later, Bourgmond followed overland and in five days was at the Kansa village on the right bank of the Missouri near the site of Doniphan, Kansas. Saint-Ange with his pirogues joined Bourgmond on July 16. The heat was deadly. Indians and Frenchmen fell ill with "warm fever" (*fièvre chaude*), and the Osages of the party decamped. Nevertheless, Bourgmond left the Kansa village for the Padouca country on July 24 with nineteen Frenchmen, 300 Indian warriors and as many women, 500 children, and 300 dogs to haul the provisions. Unfortunately, when only about thirty-five miles on the way, Bourgmond became ill, and the whole expedition thereupon returned to Fort Orleans. An *engagé* of the Company of the Indies, Gaillard by name, was commissioned to go on with some Kansas to offer presents to the Padoucas.

Gaillard accomplished his mission with success. When Bourgmond recovered, he again took to the road, reaching the Kansa village on October 2. There he presided over long powwows at which were present Missouri, Kansa, Oto, Iowa, and Panimaha chiefs and envoys from the Padoucas. From the Kansa village, the commandant again struck across the Kansas prairies, having with him "the young Missourian,"

¹²*Ibid.*

his son by an Indian mother, Saint-Ange, "Surgeon-major" La Renaudière de Quesnel, Sergeant Dubois, future husband of "the Princess of the Missouri," eight other Frenchmen, and a number of Indian chiefs. La Renaudière kept a graphic diary¹³ of the adventurous trek into the Comanche country.

According to De Villiers, the expedition followed the line of separation between the Arkansas and the Kansas valleys, its terminus being some unidentified spot in northeastern Rice county, Kansas, not far from the source of the Little Arkansas between Smoky Hill Fork and Cow creek. Here the Padoucas, who had come up from their habitat farther west to meet Bourgmound, were promptly won over to an alliance with the French. The commandant thereupon returned by a quick march to Fort Orleans, where on October 5, Chaplain Mercier sang a solemn *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for the success of the venture.¹⁴

The instructions given Bourgmound before he left France specified that after he made the desired alliance with the Padoucas, he would be at liberty to recross the Atlantic accompanied by some Indian chiefs "to give them an idea of the power of the French." Three weeks after his return from the Padoucas, an Indian council authorized a number of chiefs to accompany him to France. He left the fort shortly thereafter with one Oto, four Osages, four Missouri, and a young Indian woman "who passed for his mistress." Four Illinois and Chicagou, chief of the Metchigamis, joined the group in the Illinois country. Upon the arrival at New Orleans in July, 1725, "the ambassadors" were coldly received as the colonial council did not relish the prospect of having to provide for so many mouths during a long trans-Atlantic voyage. Therefore, alleging motives of economy, the council permitted Bourgmound to take with him only Chicagou, the squaw, and one Indian from each of the nations represented in the original party.

At Paris, the Indians from romantic and faraway Mid-America were the sensation of the day. They were received

¹³Margry, *Pierre, Découvertes et Établissements des Français . . .*, Vol. VI, pp. 398 ff.

¹⁴De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri . . .*, pp. 105 ff.

by Louis XV and the Duchess of Orleans. They danced at *L'Opéra* and the *Théâtre Italien*, hunted in the *Bois du Bourgogne*, delivered harangues which were promptly rendered into Alexandrines, and discovered that the highly perfumed Parisian courtiers smelt like alligators. Gold-embroidered garments and other presents were bestowed on them. "The Princess of the Missouri," after being baptized in Notre Dame, was married to Sergeant Dubois. All the Indians save one, who died on the way, got back safely to their American villages. Chicagou, who lived to an advanced age, jealously kept to the end the snuff-box given him by the Duchess of Orleans.¹⁵

Following the feat of taking western Indians to France, Sieur Étienne Véniard du Bourgmond passed from the historical scene. He retired from service and, as far as can be ascertained, never returned to America. In his absence, no one of the colonial authorities in Louisiana manifested any interest in Fort Orleans. The instructions issued to Périer on September 30, 1726, when he became governor of Louisiana included this statement:

There is still being kept up on the Missouri River about 180 leagues farther away than the Illinois, a fort where just now there are twelve or fifteen men, though the whole staff ought to be reduced to eight; if this expense seems useless to M. Périer, he will discontinue it [the fort] and rest satisfied with dispatching to the place the missionary who is destined for it.¹⁶

The Abbé Mercier apparently remained at the fort only as long as Bourgmond, from 1723 to 1725. Incidentally, it may be noted that although Mercier had been promised an annual salary of 600 livres by the Company of the Indies, according to a contemporary memoir, he received no subsidy whatever *pour avoir accompagné M. de Bourgmond dans la découverte du Missouri et y être resté avec lui autant de temps qu'il y est resté*.¹⁷ Finally, a formal order, under date of October 7, 1724, enjoined Governor Périer "to abandon the post of the Illinois and that of the Missouri, which is one hundred

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

¹⁶Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français* . . . , Vol. VI, p. 452.

¹⁷Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, p. 67.

and fifty leagues higher up, in view of the fact that the lands are not as good as was believed."¹⁸

After the masterful Bourgmond left the scene, the Missouri river was given over to adventurers, traders, and *coureurs de bois*. In 1728, the Louisiana council of the Company of the Indies granted the Canadians, Marain and Outlas, a monopoly on the fur trade on the Missouri and Ohio rivers for five years on condition that they sell only to the company and deliver their furs at New Orleans.¹⁹

Fort Orleans appears to have been evacuated about the beginning of 1729. De Villiers dismisses the story once current that the garrison had been massacred by Indians, as a myth. Not a word about the alleged massacre occurs in the official correspondence of the period. De Villiers is of the opinion that Fort Orleans was subsequently re-established and mentions two officers later in command there, one in 1736 and the other sometime during the period from 1740 to 1750.²⁰ However, the point is an obscure one and the evidence presented that the old post was reoccupied after its abandonment is not convincing.

The exact location of Fort Orleans is an intriguing question. Fortunately, enough contemporary data is available to make the solution of the problem possible and not particularly difficult. Identifications of the site made by some of the older historians are now seen to be untenable and must be set aside. Lucien Carr in his *Missouri, a Bone of Contention* placed the fort on the right bank of the Missouri. Le Page du Pratz²¹ located it on an island. Neither of these sites can be squared with known facts.

Actually, the fort was across the Missouri from the Missouri village, which all the pioneer travelers place on the right or south bank, as do also the earliest cartographers of the region, including Dumont *dit* Montigny (1728?), D'Anville

¹⁸De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* p. 116.

¹⁹Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, p. 70.

²⁰De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* p. 124.

²¹Le Page du Pratz, [Antoine Simon], *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. I, p. 138. See map insert.

(1746), and Perrin du Lac (1802).²² To ascertain the true site, four major sources of information can be drawn upon.

The first is Bourgmund's letter of January 2, 1724, published in part by De Villiers.²³ Although the letter fails to indicate the exact site of the fort, it throws some light on the topographical relation of the fort to the Missouri village, thereby bringing out the fact that it was on the mainland north of the river.

The second source for information is Dumont *dit* Montigny's map or "plan of the course of the River of the Missouri with Fort Orleans." The original of this map is in Paris. A photostatic copy is in the Louis C. Karpinski collection of unpublished maps from the French *Archives*.²⁴ It is generally believed that the map was made between 1723 and 1728. The map itself does not carry Dumont's name, and the allegation that it was drawn by Dumont *dit* Montigny, French traveler and author of memoirs on Louisiana, was apparently made by Karpinski.

This map is the earliest detailed one we have of the Missouri. It shows the course of the stream from its mouth to a point considerably above the Kansas. It indicates Fort Orleans by name at a location just north of the top of a bend in the Missouri, with the Missouri village lying directly across on the opposite or right bank of the river. Not far below the fort, a river, seemingly the Wakenda, enters the Missouri on the left. The map is decisive in establishing the site of the fort as having been on the mainland north of the Missouri and not on an island.

The third source for data on Fort Orleans is a contemporary plan of Fort Orleans, allegedly by Dumont, which De Villiers found in the *Archives Coloniales* and edited in 1930.²⁵ The original of the plan is in colors, which are badly faded, the legends being almost illegible. In reproducing the document, a cut was made from an exact drawing. If all the build-

²²De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri* . . . , p. 88.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

²⁴For a brief notice of the Karpinski maps, see the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (January, 1928), pp. 328-30.

²⁵[De Villiers], "A Hitherto Unpublished Plan of Fort Orleans on the Missouri," in *Mid-America*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (January, 1930), p. 263.

ings indicated on the plan, some twenty in number, were actually erected, Fort Orleans was an establishment of no mean proportions. Behind the fort at a distance of two leagues, approximately four and a half miles, are indicated "big hills," presumably those on the north side of the Wakenda, while between the fort and the hills is a "prairie." A road connected the fort with the river edge, while a 15-foot embankment or levee about 150 feet back from the river protected the fort. In the original plan, the site of the "prairie" is studded with irregular spots, which would seem to indicate a somewhat marshy ground.²⁶

The fourth source is a sketch-map by De Villiers embodying the results of his studies on the location of Fort Orleans and its environs.²⁷ His conclusion is that the fort was on the left or north bank of the Missouri in a sort of peninsula formed by the Tetsau Bend, which runs between Prunty island above and Miller island below. This site is about two miles above the outlet of the Wakenda river in what is now Carroll county, Missouri.

De Villiers concludes his commentary on the Dumont plan with a reflection that may well appeal to all interested in recovering the early landmarks of Missouri history.

Will the discovery of this plan at last make it possible to locate the exact site of Fort Orleans? This question can be answered only by a study made on the spot. It seems to me that it would be worthwhile to undertake an exploration so that a cross and a tablet might mark the site of the first chapel and the first fort erected in the state of Missouri.²⁸

²⁶Dumont *dit* Montigny's name appears in the drawing published by De Villiers and was probably on the original plan. If so, the authorship is not a mere conjecture of De Villiers'. However, that Dumont was ever actually a visitor at Fort Orleans, as De Villiers seems to assume, cannot be established. He does not appear to have left lower Louisiana during the entire period that the fort was maintained, during 1723 to 1728. See sketch of Dumont by Delangle, Jean, S. J., in *Mid-America*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (January, 1937), pp. 30-40. For photostatic copies of the Dumont map see also *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. V, No. 3 (June, 1928), p. 262, and Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History*, p. 91.

²⁷De Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri*, p. 90.

²⁸Garraghan, "New Light on Old Cahokia," pp. 118 ff. The chapel presumably erected at the Jesuit mission on the Des Peres river (1700-1703), within the present city limits of St. Louis, antedated the one at Fort Orleans.

MAJOR ALPHONSO WETMORE

BY KATE L. GREGG

Major Alphonso Wetmore, author of the *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* published in St. Louis in 1837, deserves more recognition than he has ever had. For his services and sacrifices in two wars, he should have a lasting memorial. As an essayist, he belonged to a literary coterie that utilized material of the western frontier a decade and a half before it came to the attention of Washington Irving. The papers of Charles Keemle, M. C. Field, and Major Alphonso Wetmore should be lifted from crumbling newspaper files where they are known to few and made accessible in a more lasting medium. These men were not intrigued with tales of moldering Gothic ruins in a Europe 2,000 miles away, nor with European stories reclothed in an American setting on the Atlantic seaboard. They were fascinated by characters and episodes connected with the fur trade in the trans-Mississippi West, especially that part of it carried on in upper Missouri. There was no need of invention. Characters and stories were real, and in interest far surpassed anything that imagination would conjure up.

Alphonso Wetmore was born at Winchester, Connecticut, on February 17, 1793. He was of English lineage and represented the fifth generation of his family in his country.¹ His father, Seth Wetmore—son of John, son of Samuel, son of Thomas—on December 9, 1779, married Lois Bronson, daughter of Osias Bronson of Winchester. Of the eight children born of Seth Wetmore's first marriage, Alphonso was fifth. Where he went to school is not known, but what he learned is evident in everything he wrote. Knowledge of classic lore may have begun under his father's tutelage, for such names as Pythagoras and Artemisia pinned on a brother and a sister indicate domestic enthusiasm for Greek. The sandy-haired, freckled-faced boy, whether at home or at

¹Wetmore, James Carnahan, *The Wetmore Family of America and its Collateral Branches with Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical Notices*, pp. 57-58.

school, filled his mind with ready references in Latin and Greek, and by the time he reached manhood may be said to have possessed a gentleman's education.

When Alphonso was twelve years old, his father moved from Connecticut where the family had lived for four generations and took up residence in Montgomery county, New York. There he died at Corner's Village, Canajoharie, on April 16, 1836. His obituary reveals that he had been fined in Connecticut under the alien and sedition laws for urging the right of universal suffrage, and had three times been a member of the state legislature. In New York he served as magistrate, sheriff, and judge and "died as he lived, a Democratic-Republican of the old school, plain and unassuming in his manners, firm and consistent in his principles."

In the anti-federalism of the father may be found part of the reason why the son jumped into the army before the War of 1812 was declared. He entered as an ensign in the twenty-third infantry in April, 1812, and within a year experienced more active service than comes to most soldiers in a lifetime. He participated with Generals Scott, Ripley, Gaines, Tousson, Brooke, Worth, and Wool in the muddling campaigns along the northern frontier. Fighting under Colonel Winder in his disastrous invasion of Canada, young Wetmore, eight months after enlistment, lost his right arm. It was pierced twice by shell fragments, one of which entered the right side and left a wound from which he suffered all his life.

On the increase of salary that went with his first promotion, he made an unusually happy marriage. The entry of this event in what was then a new family *Bible* is as follows: "Sept. 5, 1813, one Alphonso Wetmore, Lt. of the 23rd regt. U. S. Inf. entered into the holy bonds of matrimony with *Mary Smith* having then and there only one hand, and that the left, to give, the other having been carried away in battle by a sixpound shot." In July of the following year, Wetmore became a first lieutenant, and on the reorganization of the army after the treaty of peace Wetmore was retained as paymaster of the sixth infantry. His changes of residence before coming to Missouri are evident also in the family

Bible, where he entered his second son Leonidas as born on Governor's Island, New York Harbor, on May 4, 1816, and his third son Thaddeus Kosciusko as born at Plattsburg, New York, on July 15, 1818.

In 1819, when the sixth and seventh infantries were assigned to duty up the Missouri, Wetmore—so says the family genealogist—"marched with the army, taking his family with him and settled at Franklinton," which Missourians recognize at once as an eastern transcription of old Franklin, Missouri. From the files of the *Missouri Gazette*, one may glean more concerning this removal to the West. On June 9, 1819, the two regiments passed St. Louis on nine barges on their way up the river to Fort Bellefontaine. On July 4 and 5, the sixth infantry left Fort Bellefontaine in three steamboats—the *Expedition* under Captain Craig, the *Johnson* under Captain Colfax, and the *Jefferson* under Captain Orfurt—and on four barges propelled by wheels and sails. Averaging five miles a day, the expedition reached Martin's Cantonment, 350 miles up the Missouri, on August 29.

Captain Wetmore again faced disaster. Under instructions to descend the Missouri from Cow Island to meet and pay troops still ascending the river, Wetmore set out with the best means of transportation that his commanding officer could furnish—two canoes held together by a covering of puncheons, a contraption manned by three soldiers discharged for disability, a drunken clerk, and a sick passenger. A storm at nightfall brought catastrophe. Wetmore loaded down with money tried to swim out with his one arm. He had to loosen hold on a package containing \$12,000 and it was irrecoverably lost. Twenty years later, when he was endeavoring to get back from the government the money that he had to advance to cover this loss, Wetmore gave a fine summary of his life as a paymaster. From 1815, the year in which he was appointed paymaster, to the time when his regiment marched from Pittsburgh to Council Bluffs, it was his duty to pay ten companies of the sixth infantry, make other casual disbursements, and perform camp duty imposed by his commission.

On his arrival in Missouri, the "indulgences" which the paymaster general boasts having extended, consisted in the most perilous journeys,

through trackless prairies, in the Indian country, to almost all the Western posts, from Rock Island on the Mississippi, to Council Bluffs on the Missouri, Forts Smith and Gibson on the Arkansas and finally to the banks of the Red river.

He was attended generally by an escort of four private soldiers. Occasionally more accompanied him, but quite as often only two were allowed.

The almost trackless wilderness through which the route of your petitioner lay, was cut with an infinite number of streams that were rarely fordable; and his invention was constantly put to the test, in the construction of bark canoes, in the formation of rafts, and in the fabrication of skin boats, the last of which having been made portable, were preferred; and it was not an uncommon practice, when arriving on the bank of some prairie stream, to go out and slay an elk, and make a boat of his skin.

Wetmore pointed out in his petition to Congress that paymasters on the Atlantic coast dispensed to four companies, whereas he on the west side of the Mississippi disbursed to twenty. He appealed against the government's cutting off "the pittance of \$13 per month, his only means of support, given by his country *as an equivalent for the loss of his right arm!*"²

His life was hard, but it furnished first-class material for his pen. Trappers and traders, resting for a few days or a few hours at army posts on their way to or from the wilderness, could not have been more outlandish if they had fallen from Mars; and the true stories they brought from the mountains were stranger than fiction could invent. The miraculous survival of Hugh Glass he set down once for all under the title of "The Missouri Trapper," gave it to a gentleman to read, and was amazed one day to find it staring at him from the pages of the *Portfolio* published in Philadelphia. When Nathaniel Patten republished it in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 18, 1825, he explained that it had originally been intended for his Franklin paper. "Mike Shuck, the Beaver Hunter," a composite of all the backwoodsmen that Wetmore had met, appeared first in the *Missouri Intelligencer* on October 29, 1822, and was augmented in the issue of February 11, 1823.

²*Senate Executive Documents*, 24th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 368, pp. 3-5.

Like "The Missouri Trapper," it was copied in journals all over the United States. The editor of the *Intelligencer*, in explaining the authorship of both articles called "Mike Shuck" the best description of a backwoodsman ever published. "The Deserter's Execution" in the same paper has all the marks of being from Wetmore's pen. Under the pen name of "Aurora Borealis" he contributed many articles to Patten's newspaper, few of which reached the high level of the ones described above.

More of Wetmore's descriptions of the frontier can be found among the "Sketches" appended to the *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*. "The Dead Husband," a story which traces an emigrant family from Buncombe, North Carolina, to Tennessee and thence up the Arkansas and White rivers, has in it the immortal description of a fur trapper's hair on his return from an expedition:

. . . His locks were matted together like the wool on the forehead of a buffalo; not a comb or an intrusive pair of scissors had interrupted the wild luxuriance of its growth in a period of more than three years. When his hat had given way to the irritation of canebrakes and green briars, and the peltings of the storms of summer and winter, he had cultivated the covering with which nature had bountifully provided his cranium. By occasional cropping of his locks with his butcher-knife as they grew out so as to obstruct his vision, he left his upper-works with singular aspect; and when the growth of three years's beard is considered, with the bear's oil glistening on its uncombed surface, it is not strange that his charitable wife should give him some ironical compliments, such as these: "Jopling, you're a beauty."

The "Sketch of Mountain Life by a Trapper" has plenty of Missouri in it. Gall Buster was born in Culpepper, Virginia, and "raised" in North Carolina, got religion in Tennessee, married in Madison county, Kentucky, and emigrated and settled in early times in Missouri. At first he lived somewhere between Charette and Loutre Island. Then, one day, because his face had always been turned westward, he took the divide through Grand Prairie to New Franklin, halted in the prairie bottom opposite Arrow Rock, made a crop, and trapped with Sarshel Cooper up as far as the Kansas river. "When the Indian wars of the Boonslick country came on, and the government left us to 'fight on our own hooks,' Patsy urged me to

move into one of the forts." Before we are through with Mr. Gall Buster, we have a fine description of a trapper's winter near the great Salt Lake, and with him look upon some of the "koorosities of the country"—boiling hot springs, Beer spring, Oil spring, and Soap lake.

"Some Account of Another Hunt" makes good use of the atmosphere of Fort Leavenworth and Fort Atkinson. In "The Pawnee Sacrifice," Wetmore seems to have used material that he first revealed to Nathaniel Patten in a letter from Council Bluffs, extracts from which are to be found in the *Missouri Intelligencer* of October 19, 1827.

The work, however, for which Wetmore is more generally known is the *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, published by Charles Keemle in St. Louis in 1837. Because it was compiled by one who had lived in the central part of Missouri for fourteen years and as a traveler had become familiar with every part of the State, it was of considerable value to emigrants in a former day and now is invaluable to students who try to reconstruct the past. In an advertisement, Wetmore gave due credit to William M. Campbell, whose descriptions of St. Charles and several other counties were so well written and correct that he published them in Campbell's own language without alteration. The St. Charles lawyer had kept a diary of his trip from Virginia to St. Louis and another of his trip in 1830 from Dardenne Prairie as far up the river as Chariton county, and had been preparing material for a gazetteer when the prospectus of Wetmore's work appeared. He thereupon cheerfully turned over his finished accounts based on the second diary.

Wetmore was the local historian of Franklin's activity in the Santa Fe trade and on two occasions contributed articles of so much importance that they were published in government reports. When in 1824, Senator Thomas Hart Benton was organizing his campaign for the passage of a bill for the survey and marking of a road to Mexico, Major Alphonso Wetmore, at the behest of Representative John Scott, gathered up all available information in Franklin on Mexican trade and transmitted it to Washington. He thus became the first

historian of the Santa Fe trail. "The most acceptable service that could be rendered those engaged in this inland trade, would be to mark a road, so as to enable them to pursue their operations without loss of time or distance."³ He suggested that this might be done by the erection of posts, or those failing, by pillars of stone. He recommended that the commissioners should be of two sorts—one a practical man who had been over the road and knew the country, and the other a literary man who would be able to write a true and interesting account of the operations and the country traversed. For the first, he suggested Colonel Benjamin Cooper; modesty probably prevented his naming the literary person.

In 1832, when the problem of Santa Fe trade was again before Congress, he submitted another letter and extracts from a diary he had written on a trip to the Mexican settlements in 1828.⁴ He found fault with the road that had been surveyed and marked by Commissioners Reeves, Mathers, and Sibley, none of whom had been recommended in his previous letter. One cannot but feel that the appointment of the literary commissioner from Fort Osage instead of from Franklin had something to do with his unfavorable report. Politics as well as other human frailties entered in. He had opposed the election of Senator Barton; Barton had been elected; Barton had collaborated with Benton in appointment of the commissioners.

In 1833 Major Wetmore resigned his commission as paymaster and removed to St. Louis, where he busied himself with newspaper work and law. In 1837 he collaborated with M. C. Field in publishing the *Saturday News*, the files of which if they are extant would probably reveal more of his interesting work on scenes and characters of the frontier.

When the Mexican war came on, Wetmore raised a regiment of 1,000 men, and was bitterly disappointed—a fellow army officer of the old twenty-third infantry said "heart-broken"—when the government did not accept them.⁵ Sen-

³House Executive Documents, 18th Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. IV, No. 79.

⁴Senate Executive Documents, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, No. 90, pp. 30-41.

⁵Republic (Washington, D. C.), September 29, 1849: "The Late Alphonso Wetmore."

ator Benton, alive to the danger of losing 1,000 votes out of St. Louis, favored instead the raising of the Mormon Battalion. Of too advanced an age to go himself, Major Wetmore had the satisfaction of following the exploits of his second son, Captain Leonidas Wetmore, through the battles of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, and El Morino del Rey. The young Wetmore especially distinguished himself in the latter encounter.

The last great experience of Major Alphonso Wetmore was a trip to California. His grandchildren remember the nuggets he brought home. But that he went in 1849, as they believe, is incompatible with the date of his death. The cholera epidemic of 1849 carried him away in his fifty-sixth year. He died in St. Louis on June 13, unconscious that the same disease had been the cause of the death of his daughter Calphurnia Lientz at Boone, Missouri, on the previous day. Captain Leonidas Wetmore died on November 18, 1849, on board the steamboat *Highland Mary*, coming from Fort Snelling to St. Louis. Thomas A. Smith Wetmore, fourth son of Major Wetmore, died on board the steamboat *Pride of the West* on October 25, 1850; and Charles Leonidas Wetmore, sole offspring of Captain Leonidas Wetmore, died in infancy on January 1, 1852. The Wetmore name has been carried on by the children of Diogenes, Major Wetmore's first-born who resided in Oneida, Illinois; by Thaddeus Kosciusko, who resided in St. Louis; and by Dr. Alphonso Wetmore, who for many years was the most prominent physician of Waterloo, Illinois, and the surrounding country.⁸

⁸The children of Major Alphonso Wetmore were:

(a) Diogenes, born at Ames, New York, June 17, 1814, and resided at Oneida, Illinois. On May 8, 1836, he married Sarah Jane David Hume and their daughter was named Octavia. Children by his second wife, Deborah L. Conger, whom he married on June 30, 1846, were Mary Eliza and Hugh Alphonso.

(b) Leonidas, born on Governor's Island, New York Harbor, May 4, 1816. He married Amelia K. S. deBovis on March 14, 1849. Their son, Charles Leonidas, died in infancy.

(c) Thaddeus Kosciusko, born at Plattsburg, New York, July 15, 1818, and resided in St. Louis. He married Caroline V. Conger and their children were Frank and Carlos.

(d) Calphurnia, born in St. Louis in 1822, married Montgomery Pike Lientz, and died June 12, 1849, at Boone, Missouri. Her children were Mary Wetmore and William Alphonso.

Mary Smith Wetmore survived her husband for many years. Her grandchildren, daughters of Dr. Alphonso, who still reside in the family home during the summer months, say that she was so charming and delightful even in her declining years that they always felt sorry for children who had no grandmother. Over the mantel in the spacious parlor the portrait of Dr. Alphonso looks down upon his descendants—serious, well-balanced, responsible, like another Dr. Dafoe. From the first landing on the staircase, Captain Leonidas, gay in a white buckskin suit fringed and embroidered, has his youth forevermore. His sword and epaulets hang close at hand—the latter a bit frayed by the years. From above the mantel in the second parlor the vivid face of Major Alphonso Wetmore looks out undefeated upon his children's children. He wears the empty sleeve like a badge of honor.⁷

(e) Roxana, born in St. Louis, September 15, 1824, married George T. Bacon on March 15, 1849, and resided at Marine Mills, Minnesota.

(f) Sarah, born in St. Louis, May 27, 1828, married Charles Godwell Weber on October 12, 1852, and resided in St. Louis. Her son, Henry Edward, was born April 4, 1857.

(g) Thomas A. Smith, born in Franklin, Missouri, October 21, 1830, married Elizabeth A. Spencer on May 3, 1849, and died on October 25, 1850. His daughter was named Thomasine A.

(h) Alphonso, born in St. Louis, October 22, 1836, married Cecilia Rainey Adelsberger, and lived in Waterloo, Illinois. They had four daughters.

⁷The author acknowledges appreciation for the help rendered in the preparation of this sketch by Miss Stella M. Drumm of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Roy King of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; L. A. Kingsbury, Franklin; and Mrs. Mary Wetmore Horine of Waterloo, Illinois.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS IN MISSOURI 1861-1864

BY WILLIAM F. SWINDLER

The coming of the Civil war put the southern press of the border states in a peculiar position. Unlike the deeper South, where editorial comment was, on the whole, rather conservative,¹ the North and border territory harboured journalism that was bitterly partisan.² Because of the strategic position of the border states, the southern press there faced a turbulent prospect from the beginning, for the Federal government sought zealously to stamp out organs of disaffection as part of its program in keeping the states in the Union.³

The first regulatory steps in Washington took effect against all northern newspapers, pro- or anti-administration, loyal or secessionist. A strict censorship was imposed on all press telegrams,⁴ and the American telegraph company co-operated with the government by "requiring oaths of secrecy and allegiance from employees and allowing no access to the messages or the operating rooms except to those duly authorized by the government telegraph manager."⁵

In addition, it was pointed out that all correspondents traveling with the Federal armies would come under military control.⁶ By the summer of 1861, the post office lent its efforts to the press control program by excluding from the mails all papers thought to be guilty of printing anti-Union news.⁷

¹Lee, James M., *History of American Journalism*, p. 282.

²*Ibid.*, p. 285. Skidmore, Joe, "The Copperhead Press and the Civil War," in *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (December, 1939), p. 349.

³Skidmore, "The Copperhead Press and the Civil War," p. 349.

⁴Carroll, Thomas F., "Freedom of Speech and of the Press During the Civil War," in *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. IX, No. 7 (May, 1923), p. 519.

⁵Randall, James G., "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing Upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War," in *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (January, 1918), p. 305.

⁶Carroll, "Freedom of Speech and of the Press During the Civil War," pp. 518-19.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 520.

Despite these measures, the Federal government never fully throttled editorial opposition either in the North or in the border state of Missouri until the last days of the war. Late in the conflict, General Burnside took action against the *Chicago Times*, suppressing it temporarily for disloyal utterances,⁸ and in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania authorities on several occasions were ordered to close particularly obstreperous hostile journals.⁹ Nevertheless, most northern papers had little difficulty getting rather full accounts of Union military activity and equally full correspondence from the South.¹⁰ Southern propaganda appearing in northern journals was not at all unusual,¹¹ and there are indications that southern military leaders got a great deal of important information from northern journals to which they subscribed.¹²

In Missouri, the journalistic situation was as tense as anywhere in the United States. For years, the slavery question had been increasing the public demand for news, resulting in a rapid growth in the number of papers in the State.¹³ Between 1850 and 1860, the number of dailies in Missouri increased from five to sixteen¹⁴—a growth more rapid, proportionately, than in other parts of the West.¹⁵

The early slavery disturbances affected the Missouri press as well. In Parkville in 1855, a mob of slavery sympathizers assaulted the offices of the *Western Luminary* and dumped press and type into the Missouri river.¹⁶ The next year, in May, border ruffians crossed the State line into Kansas and destroyed the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and *The Free State* in Lawrence.¹⁷

⁸Lee, James M., *History of American Journalism*, p. 286.

⁹Lee, Alfred M., *The Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 415.

¹⁰The *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), *St. Louis Democrat*, and *Lexington Union* had southern correspondence as late as 1864.

¹¹Skidmore, "The Copperhead Press and the Civil War," p. 352.

¹²Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War," pp. 313-14.

¹³Organ, Minnie, "History of the County Press of Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (July, 1910), pp. 264, 277.

¹⁴Lee, Alfred M., *The Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 716.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 506-507. By 1860, the demand for news was so great that several St. Louis papers brought out evening editions for the first time. Anderson, Galusha, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*, p. 144.

¹⁶Organ, "History of the County Press of Missouri," p. 258.

¹⁷Lee, James M., *History of American Journalism*, p. 281.

State journalism was divided as sharply as State politics by 1860. Although Republican papers were relatively few, the leading one being the *St. Louis Democrat*, there were numerous old-line Whig papers, and conservative and radical wings of the Democratic press. The *Jefferson Examiner*, Claiborne F. Jackson's organ, the *Bulletin* and *Missouri State Journal* of St. Louis, and the *States Rights Gazette* of Troy were the extremists among the southerners. Equally southern but much more moderate in editorial tone were the Whig *Missouri Statesman* of Columbia and the Democratic *St. Louis News*, the *Missouri Republican*, and the *Jefferson Inquirer*. The moderates were eager to appease everyone, although none got into quite the predicament of the *Republican*, which, edited jointly by a pro-unionist and a pro-secessionist, daily published pro-northern and pro-southern editorials side by side.¹⁸

The election of Lincoln still further confused the southern press in Missouri.¹⁹ The moderates, which had supported Bell or Douglas in the campaign, at first urged calmness and loyalty to the Union.²⁰ The radical Breckenridge newspapers, after a few weeks of silence, crossed the Rubicon and demanded flatly that Missouri make common cause with her sister states of the Confederacy.²¹ The step to general editorial advocacy of secession, however, came gradually; as late as January, 1861, the *Jefferson Inquirer* maintained that except for a handful of extremists, "every newspaper in the state" opposed secession.²²

This was not strictly true, nor did it give an accurate picture of the situation, for many more southern newspapers were on the verge of joining this handful of radicals²³ and only waited on the further development of national events. By the end of January, one of the moderates in Osceola joined the pro-secessionists.²⁴ Another paper, the *Randolph Citizen*,

¹⁸Anderson, *The Story of a Border City During the Civil War*, p. 144.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 143.

²⁰Byle, Walter Harrington, *Missouri: Union or Secession*, p. 170.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 171.

²²*Jefferson Inquirer* (Jefferson City), January 26, 1861.

²³The "radicals" included the *Jefferson Examiner* (Jefferson City), the *St. Louis Bulletin*, the *Bollivar Weekly Courier*, the *Milan Farmer*, and the *States Rights Gazette* (Troy).

²⁴*Ossage Valley Star* (Osceola), January 31, 1861.

at first asserted confidently that the coming State convention was needless:

The all-absorbing question, the soul and pith of the whole movement, is to decide whether Missouri shall remain in or go out of the Union. We maintain this point is already decided—irrevocably settled in the hearts and consciences of our people. They are for the Union.²⁵

However, by March, this paper was urging Missouri to "resist coercion," and in April, when Lincoln called for troops from the border states, it declared:

This call for troops will tend to alienate the affections of the people of the border slave states from the Union, and turn them Southward. They can now see unmistakably what is expected of them by the Black Republican Administration, and that is, to take up arms to shed the blood of their Southern Brethren. Rather than do that, we KNOW they will choose secession. If fight we must, we prefer to fight the Black Republicans.²⁶

The *California News* added its voice to the growing secession chorus. Missourians, it declared, are "for our brethren of the South—'come weal, come woe or death.'"²⁷

Some southern papers, of course, chose the Union side when the showdown came. The *Missouri Statesman* was one of the most emphatic pro-Union papers.²⁸ The paper in Fulton urged moderation in solving the problem and later came out for peace and the *status quo* in Callaway county.²⁹

The moderates used economic arguments in favor of Missouri's remaining in the Union, pointing out the prospect of tariff barriers being raised against Confederate shipments to the North, the expenses to be incurred in setting up new administrative systems to take over the work of the Federal government, and so on.³⁰ Even the *California News* conceded the wisdom of the arguments of financial weakness:

²⁵*Randolph Citizen* (Huntsville), January 24, 1861.

²⁶*Ibid.*, April 18, 1861.

²⁷*California News*, April 20, 1861.

²⁸*Missouri Statesman*, January 18, 1861.

²⁹*Missouri Telegraph* (Fulton), March 8, 1861; *Missouri Statesman*, September, 13, 1861.

³⁰Ryle, *Missouri, Union or Secession*, p. 209.

Is our State prepared for war? Our empty treasury and unarmed citizens, answer—*not now*. Secession will bring on war. Let us not secede, unless forced to, until prepared to do so.³¹

As rapid events developed in the spring of 1861, however, the southern press grew more rabid. With the fall of Camp Jackson, the *Missouri Republican* wailed that "we are bound hand and foot; chained down by a merciless tyranny; are subjected and shackled."³² The *California News* took the camp's seizure as proof that "war" had been "declared" on Missouri.³³ Soon thereafter, it charged that Union troops had instituted a reign of terror in St. Louis.³⁴

With the editorial cry for secession raised to such a pitch in a state which was so strategically important, it was natural that Federal military authorities should take stern measures to hush it up. In the course of this "cleanup" in four years of war, approximately one hundred southern newspapers fell before Union suppression or collapsed because of hard times.³⁵

Starting from their headquarters in St. Louis, the Union authorities embarked upon their anti-newspaper campaign, striking up and down the Mississippi river and then through northern Missouri to the slavery hotbed on the western border.³⁶ The *State Journal* in St. Louis was suppressed in July, 1861, as were the three emergency sheets that promptly followed it, and the editor, J. W. Tucker, was arraigned for treason.³⁷ A few weeks earlier, several southern religious weeklies had been banned in the city.³⁸ About the same time, the *Cape Girardeau Eagle* was destroyed by a detachment of Federal troops,³⁹ while another detachment, marching northward, shut down the *Hannibal Evening News*.⁴⁰ In quick

³¹*California News*, May 11, 1861.

³²Snead, Thomas L., *The Fight for Missouri, From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon*, p. 179.

³³*California News*, May 18, 1861.

³⁴*Ibid.*, June 8, 1861. The *Missouri Statesman* also was quick to criticize excesses by Federal troops. See issue for July 26, 1861.

³⁵Hammond, Thomas B., *Development of Journalism in Missouri: The Newspaper*, Chapter II, pp. 5-51.

³⁶*Ibid.* About seventeen papers were suppressed in 1861. Of these, seven were in northern Missouri, six in central Missouri, and four in the South.

³⁷Peckham, James, *General Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861*, p. 286.

³⁸*Missouri Statesman*, June 28, 1861.

³⁹*History of Southeast Missouri*, p. 417.

⁴⁰Organ, "History of the County Press of Missouri," p. 273.

succession, papers in Lexington,⁴¹ Boonville,⁴² Warrensburg,⁴³ Platte City,⁴⁴ Troy,⁴⁵ Osceola,⁴⁶ Oregon,⁴⁷ and Washington⁴⁸ were smashed by United States troops. In August, Frémont declared martial law in the State⁴⁹ and imposed stringent orders on the press everywhere in Missouri.⁵⁰

This raid on southern journalism was devastating, but it by no means completely destroyed it. The *California News*, ransacked by troops on July 14, was able to resume publication in less than a week.⁵¹ The *Platte City Argus* merely fled from the Federal forces sent to destroy it and joined Price's army to become the organ of the Missouri Confederacy. At Neosho, the *State Journal's* ex-editor Tucker took over its publication.⁵² Powerful southern organs continued to come from Carrollton, Alexandria, and Columbia, and from Cass, Caldwell, Franklin, and Shelby counties.⁵³

Still more stringent measures were taken against secessionist journals with the beginning of the war's second year. On January 2, 1862, Provost Marshal Farrar ordered all papers in the State outside St. Louis to furnish him daily with copies for inspection, on pain of suppression.⁵⁴

In addition, the editorial tone of many southern papers began to change. Many followed the example of the *Missouri Republican* and the *Missouri Telegraph* and became definitely pro-Union. The *Republican* limited its administration criticism thenceforth to strong arguments against attempts to spread emancipation sentiment throughout the State.⁵⁵

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴²Hammond, *Development of Journalism in Missouri*, Chapter II, p. 29.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁴⁹Carpenter, Allen H., "Military Government of Southern Territory, 1861-1865," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1900), Vol. I, p. 475.

⁵⁰Neivins, Allan, *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West*, p. 495.

⁵¹*California News*, July 20, 1861.

⁵²Lee, James M., *History of American Journalism*, p. 301.

⁵³Hammond, *Development of Journalism in Missouri*, pp. 37, 42, 46.

⁵⁴Carpenter, "Military Government of Southern Territory, 1861-1865," p. 475.

⁵⁵*Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 1, 1862.

As Federal military successes permitted, some of the remaining southern papers were stamped out in 1862. Among them were the *Carrollton Democrat*,⁵⁶ the *Franklin County Weekly Advertiser*,⁵⁷ the *Shelby County Weekly*,⁵⁸ and the *Columbia Standard*.⁵⁹ The *Standard's* editor, Edmund J. Ellis, was expelled from the State and his press sold by the Federal authorities.⁶⁰ By the end of the year, the Confederacy could claim less than half a dozen news organs in Missouri.⁶¹

The *Caldwell County Beacon* was still blazing, however. So were the *Alexandria Delta* and the *Cass County Gazette*. Moreover, the unionist press had not escaped unscathed in these years. Early in the conflict, several papers had to flee to Iowa,⁶² and in 1862 the Confederates took with them to Arkansas the equipment of the *Neosho Herald*.⁶³ As late as 1864, Price raided the offices of the *Lexington Weekly Journal*.⁶⁴

However, these were the last futile efforts of the lost cause. Both the *Delta* and the *Gazette* came to an end in 1863, and a rebel paper begun in Plattsburg did not survive long enough even to perpetuate its name.⁶⁵ The *Caldwell County Beacon* was extinguished in 1864.⁶⁶

The radical southern press died with the war, but many of the moderates survived the storm. The pro-southern voice never wholly died from Missouri journalism, for with the end of hostilities came a new job which the moderate press quickly recognized. It was voiced in an editorial in the new *Lexington Union* even before the fighting had reached Appomattox. The new threat to the South, the editorial said, was the new radicalism of the victors, about to introduce reconstruction into Missouri.⁶⁷

⁵⁶Hammond, *Development of Journalism in Missouri*, p. 30.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵⁹*History of Boone County, Missouri*, p. 419.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹Hammond, *Development of Journalism in Missouri*, pp. 46-51.

⁶²*History of Andrew and DeKalb Counties, Missouri*, pp. 50-51.

⁶³Hammond, *Development of Journalism in Missouri*, p. 26.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁵*The History of Clinton County, Missouri*, p. 174.

⁶⁶Hammond, *Development of Journalism in Missouri*, p. 43.

⁶⁷*Lexington Union*, February 27, 1864.

MISSOURIANA

Missouri's Modern Historical Markers on U. S. Highway 36
Missouri Miniatures—Joseph Pulitzer
Red-Letter Books Relating to Missouri
Missouri's Growth in Population, 1870-1940
Do You Know Or Don't You?
With Early Missouri Lawmakers

MISSOURI'S MODERN HISTORICAL MARKERS ON U. S. HIGHWAY 36

The State Historical Society of Missouri in 1931 inaugurated a highway marker program to popularize Missouri history and to give to Missourians and travelers from other states a motoring study in Missouri history. George A. Mahan, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri from 1925 until his death in 1936, was the originator and financial supporter of the historic highway marker program and donated several thousands of dollars for the erection of markers on U. S. Highway 36 at all county lines and outstanding historic sites within and between Hannibal and St. Joseph.

The actual placing of twenty-nine markers along the highway early in February, 1932, gave Missouri the first cross-State highway in the Middle West to be completely marked with modern historical markers. Ten of the twenty-nine markers are erected on the county lines across the State. These, inscribed on both sides, give the name and area of the county, date of organization, and in some cases additional historical data. At the same time that historical sites were marked along Highway 36, Mahan also erected four similar markers on Highway 61, two to the north and two to the south of Hannibal.

The State Historical Society of Missouri by extensive and careful research compiled and furnished the historical data which appears on the markers. Permission to locate the markers was granted by the Missouri highway commission which also aided in placing the markers on the highway. On March 11, 1932, George A. Mahan by deed of gift transferred these markers to the State highway commission.

Missourians will ever be indebted to George A. Mahan who financed the highway marker project entirely without an appropriation of public funds of any kind. The estimated cost for the twenty-nine markers on Highway 36 and the four on Highway 61 was around \$2,000, including the complete cost for manufacturing and erecting the markers and the low-growing evergreens placed by the markers. It is interesting to note that Mahan began this work of memorializing historic sites in his native State in the same year that Frank E. Noyes, octogenarian publisher of Marinette, Wisconsin, started his hobby of erecting monuments to mark the early history and geographical significance of his section of the state.

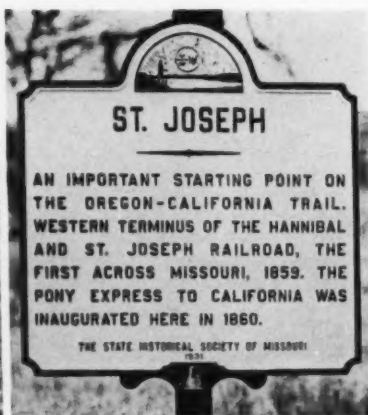
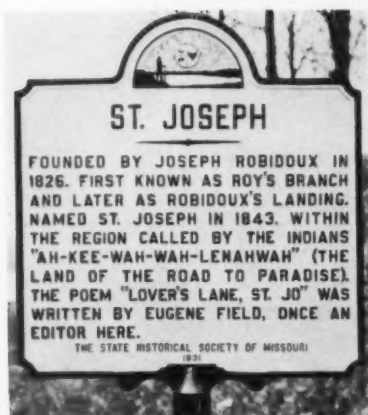
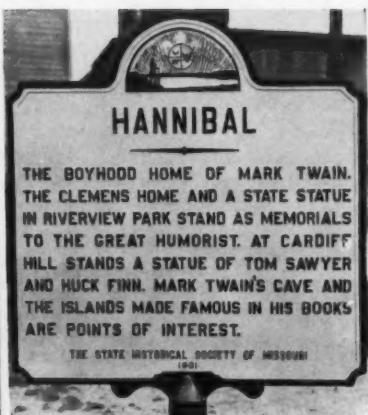
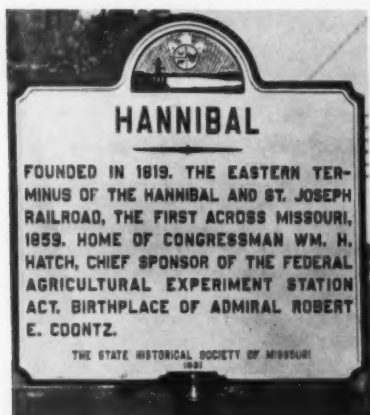
The highway markers are substantial and artistically designed, with inscriptions on either side detailing the historical significance of the sites marked. The plaques bearing the inscriptions are of cast aluminum and measure 36 inches high and 42 inches wide. At the top of each marker is a semi-spherical reproduction of the insignia of the State Historical Society of Missouri which shows a pioneer looking across a river, representing the great inland water system of Missouri, toward a rising sun. The State seal is represented in this design on a backboard of a *fleur-de-lis*, the coat of arms of France under whose influence the territory which became Missouri was explored and settled. The semi-spherical design is done in black and gold on an aluminum background. The letters of the inscription and the border around the plaque are raised and of burnt, black enamel on the aluminum-colored background. The marker and the iron standard together weigh approximately 250 pounds.

Highway 36 is the shortest and most direct route from the eastern to the western boundary of the State and in addition to linking two centers of unusual historical significance, St. Joseph and Hannibal, traverses a trail and section of the State which play particularly interesting roles in the history of Missouri and of America. Starting from Hannibal, Mark Twain's boyhood home, the highway follows in general the trails of the early pioneers in settling north central Missouri and of the California gold-seekers of 1849. The route



GEORGE A. MAHAN
(1851-1936)

*President of the State Historical Society of Missouri, 1925-1936. Originator
and financial supporter of Missouri's highway marker program.*



Four of the modern historical highway markers erected in 1932 on U. S. Highway 36. The plaques, 36" x 42", are of cast aluminum and are inscribed on both sides.

also follows closely the course of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, now the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, which was the first cross-State railroad to be completed. St. Joseph, the western terminus of the line of markers, fitted out the wagon trains which followed the Oregon trail and saw the beginning of the Pony express in 1860 on the eve of the Civil war.

A motorist going westward along Highway 36 from Hannibal to St. Joseph finds his interest in Missouri's historic past renewed by the markers identifying and memorializing the historic shrines along the way. He readily realizes the rich historical background of the terminal city on the eastern bound of the State. Hannibal is to be remembered first of all as the boyhood home and tramping ground of Mark Twain and throughout the city can be seen sites, scenes, and buildings associated with America's greatest of all humorists. Hannibal was also the home of Congressman William H. Hatch, who sponsored the Federal agricultural experiment station act. Another notable citizen born in Hannibal was Rear Admiral Robert E. Coontz of the U. S. navy. These noteworthy Missourians as well as many historical scenes and facts are noted on the four markers erected in 1932. Two of these markers, one at the eastern and the other at the southwestern limits of Hannibal, read as follows:

HANNIBAL

FOUNDED IN 1819. THE EASTERN TERMINUS OF THE HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD, THE FIRST ACROSS MISSOURI, 1859. HOME OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM H. HATCH, CHIEF SPONSOR OF THE FEDERAL AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION ACT. BIRTHPLACE OF ADMIRAL ROBERT E. COONTZ.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

Likewise, markers were erected in both the eastern and southwestern limits of Hannibal which were inscribed as follows:

HANNIBAL

THE BOYHOOD HOME OF MARK TWAIN. THE CLEMENS HOME AND A STATE STATUE IN RIVERVIEW PARK STAND AS MEMORIALS TO THE GREAT HUMORIST. AT CARDIFF HILL STANDS A STATUE OF TOM SAWYER AND HUCK FINN. MARK TWAIN'S CAVE AND THE ISLANDS MADE FAMOUS IN HIS BOOKS ARE POINTS OF INTEREST.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

If the motorist travels Highway 36 westward from Hannibal, he finds the first roadside marker about fifteen miles west at the boundary line separating Marion and Ralls counties. The marker erected there bears two inscriptions. The inscription on the eastern side is as follows:

RALLS COUNTY

AREA 481 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM PIKE COUNTY AND ORGANIZED IN 1820. NAMED FOR DANIEL RALLS, A STATE LEGISLATOR FROM PIKE COUNTY, WHOSE LAST OFFICIAL ACT WAS TO VOTE FOR DAVID BARTON AND THOMAS H. BENTON, THE FIRST TWO UNITED STATES SENATORS FROM MISSOURI. NEW LONDON IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The inscription on the western side of the county line marker presents the following data:

MARION COUNTY

AREA 436 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM RALLS COUNTY AND NAMED FOR FRANCIS MARION OF REVOLUTIONARY FAME. ORGANIZED IN 1826. FIRST SETTLEMENT MADE NEAR HANNIBAL BY MATHURIN BOUVET IN 1795. PALMYRA IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The same inscriptions label a marker erected at the point farther west where Highway 36 leaves Ralls county and re-enters Marion county. The next marker westward is at Monroe City and commemorates the birthplace of Mark Twain and the Battle of Monroe in July, 1861, the only Civil war skirmish of any importance in that vicinity. The inscription reads:

MONROE CITY

FOUNDED IN 1857 AND FIRST INCORPORATED 1869. A SKIRMISH KNOWN AS THE BATTLE OF MONROE OCCURRED HERE JULY 10, 11, 1861, BETWEEN GENERAL THOMAS A. HARRIS' STATE FORCES AND FEDERALS UNDER COL. ROBERT F. SMITH. SIXTEEN MILES SOUTH IS FLORIDA, BIRTHPLACE OF MARK TWAIN AND SITE OF MARK TWAIN STATE PARK.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

Historic sites are particularly well marked in Shelby county. At the point where the highway leaves Marion county and enters Shelby county a marker stands with the following inscription on the eastern face:

SHELBY COUNTY

AREA 509 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM MARION COUNTY AND ORGANIZED IN 1835. NAMED FOR ISAAC SHELBY, A KING'S MOUNTAIN HERO AND GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY. SHELBYVILLE IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The inscription on the western face of this marker is the same as on the western face of the Ralls-Marion county line marker.

At the Salt river bridge near Hunnewell in Shelby county where the highway crosses Salt river, a marker commemorates the place where Ulysses S. Grant, later commander of the Union armies and president of the United States, saw some

of his first active military duty during the Civil war. The inscription on the marker reads:

SALT RIVER

U. S. GRANT, COMMANDING THE 21ST ILLINOIS INFANTRY WAS STATIONED HERE IN JULY, 1861, GUARDING THE SALT RIVER RAILROAD BRIDGE, THEN BEING REBUILT AFTER ITS DESTRUCTION ON JULY 10. THIS WAS GRANT'S FIRST ACTIVE SERVICE IN MISSOURI IN THE CIVIL WAR.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

Farther west in Shelby county is another roadside marker at Shelbina, giving the dates of the founding and incorporation of the town and indicating the distance to Bethel where a German communistic society was located from 1844 to 1879. The inscription is:

SHELBINA

FOUNDED IN 1857 AND FIRST INCORPORATED IN 1867. THIRTEEN MILES NORTH OF SHELBINA IS BETHEL, THE HOME OF THE BETHEL COMMUNAL SOCIETY FROM 1844-1879.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

Where Highway 36 leaves Shelby county and enters Macon county, a marker was erected with the following inscription on the eastern face:

MACON COUNTY

AREA 809 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM CHARITON AND RANDOLPH COUNTIES AND ORGANIZED IN 1837. NAMED FOR NATHANIEL MACON, NORTH CAROLINA STATESMAN AND REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER. BLOOMINGTON WAS THE COUNTY SEAT FROM 1838-1863. MACON HAS BEEN THE COUNTY SEAT SINCE 1863.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The inscription on the western face of this Macon-Shelby county line marker is the same as the one on the eastern face of the Shelby-Marion county line marker.

The highway marker for Macon, county seat of Macon county and center of a rich coal region, reads thus:

MACON

FOUNDED IN 1856 AND FIRST INCORPORATED IN 1859.
MACON HAS BEEN THE COUNTY SEAT SINCE 1863. THE
BEVIER COAL FIELD NEAR HERE IS ONE OF THE MOST
EXTENSIVE IN MISSOURI.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The inscription for Linn county on the Linn-Macon county line marker links the county with Missouri's notable citizen, Lewis F. Linn.

LINN COUNTY

AREA 626 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM CHARITON COUNTY AND ORGANIZED IN
1837. NAMED FOR LEWIS F. LINN, UNITED STATES SENATOR
FROM MISSOURI AND AUTHOR OF THE BILLS FOR THE
ACQUISITION OF THE PLATTE PURCHASE AND THE OCCU-
PATION OF THE OREGON COUNTRY. LINNEUS IS THE
COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The western face of the same marker embodies the same historical sketch given for Macon county on the eastern face of the Macon-Shelby county line marker.

The next marker on Highway 36 is at Brookfield and specifies the role this town played as the division headquarters for the first cross-State railroad. The marker inscription reads:

BROOKFIELD

FOUNDED IN 1859 AND NAMED FOR JOHN WOOD BROOKS, WHO SURVEYED THE TOWN. FIRST INCORPORATED IN 1865. THE TOWN BECAME DIVISION HEADQUARTERS FOR THE HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD IN 1859.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The second historic marker in Linn county is erected at Laclede, the birthplace of General John J. Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American expeditionary forces in the World war. General Pershing is the only living person of whom mention is made on these historical highway markers. The inscription on the Laclede marker is:

LACLEDE

BIRTHPLACE AND BOYHOOD HOME OF GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES IN THE WORLD WAR.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The sixth county line marker on Highway 36 from Hannibal is placed where the highway leaves Linn county and enters Livingston county. On the eastern face of this marker is given the following sketch of Livingston county:

LIVINGSTON COUNTY

AREA 531 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM CARROLL AND CHARITON COUNTIES AND ORGANIZED IN 1837. NAMED FOR EDWARD LIVINGSTON OF NEW YORK, UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE UNDER PRESIDENT JACKSON. CHILLICOTHE IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The inscription for Linn county is a duplication of the one on the eastern face of the marker at the Linn-Macon county line.

In his westward tour, the motorist next comes to the marker for the historic spot where in 1859 the last spike was driven on the first railroad across Missouri. The inscription reads:

HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD

THREE-FOURTHS OF A MILE NORTH OF THIS POINT, ON FEBRUARY 13, 1859, THE LAST SPIKE WAS DRIVEN ON THE HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD, THE FIRST ACROSS MISSOURI.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The next marker in Livingston county indicates the historical significance of Chillicothe, Missouri, as follows:

CHILLICOTHE

FOUNDED IN 1837 AND MADE THE COUNTY SEAT IN 1839. NAMED FOR CHILLICOTHE, OHIO. INCORPORATED IN 1851. HOME OF WILLIAM Y. SLACK, BRIGADIER-GENERAL, 2ND MISSOURI CONFEDERATE VOLUNTEERS. THE STATE INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS IS HERE.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The marker at the Caldwell-Livingston county line has on its eastern face the following historical sketch of Caldwell county, the former home of the Mormons:

CALDWELL COUNTY

AREA 433 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM RAY COUNTY AND ORGANIZED IN 1836. NAMED FOR CAPT. CALDWELL, INDIAN FIGHTER OF KENTUCKY. THE COUNTY WAS FORMED FOR THE MORMONS. KINGSTON IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The sketch for Livingston county is the same as appears on the eastern face of the Livingston-Linn county line marker.

The roadside marker erected in Hamilton in Caldwell county makes mention also of Far West located ten miles to the southwest and former capital of the Mormons.

HAMILTON

FOUNDED IN 1855 AND NAMED FOR ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND JOSEPH HAMILTON. FIRST INCORPORATED IN 1868. TEN MILES SOUTHWEST THE MORMONS IN 1836 ESTABLISHED THE TOWN OF FAR WEST, THE COUNTY SEAT FROM 1836-1843.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The inscription for DeKalb county on the DeKalb-Caldwell county line marker reads as follows:

DEKALB COUNTY

AREA 425 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM CLINTON COUNTY IN 1843 AND NAMED FOR JOHANN KALB, KNOWN AS BARON DEKALB, A GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE FRENCH SERVICE WHO WAS A GENERAL IN WASHINGTON'S ARMY AND THE HERO OF THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN. ORGANIZED IN 1845. MAYSVILLE IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The next marker at Cameron in Clinton county sketches the town history and notes the direction to the site of Adam-Ondi-Ahman twenty-three miles northeast near Gallatin, another Mormon town. The inscription for this marker is:

CAMERON

FOUNDED IN 1855 AND NAMED FOR ELISHA CAMERON OF CLAY COUNTY. FIRST INCORPORATED IN 1867. TWENTY-THREE MILES NORTHEAST WAS THE MORMON TOWN OF ADAM-ONDI-AHMAN, FOUNDED IN 1838 BY JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

One of the most unusual markers financed on Highway 36 by George A. Mahan is located on the highway in DeKalb county between Stewartville and Easton in Buchanan county and bears the following inscription:

DAVID R. ATCHISON

TEN MILES SOUTH NEAR GOWER WAS THE HOME OF DAVID R. ATCHISON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSOURI, 1843-1855, AND ON MARCH 4, 1849, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR ONE DAY.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The Buchanan-DeKalb county line marker gives on one side the following sketch for Buchanan county:

BUCHANAN COUNTY

AREA 408 SQUARE MILES

SEPARATED FROM A PORTION OF THE PLATTE PURCHASE FORMERLY ATTACHED TO CLINTON COUNTY. ORGANIZED IN 1838. NAMED FOR JAMES BUCHANAN, LATER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. ST. JOSEPH IS THE COUNTY SEAT.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The next marker located at the Platte river bridge in Buchanan county gives the following data associating the Platte river with the early French and American explorers:

PLATTE RIVER

CALLED BY THE FRENCH "PETITE RIVIERE PLATTE" (LITTLE SHALLOW RIVER), AND BY LEWIS AND CLARK "THE LITTLE RIVER PLATTE." FROM THIS RIVER THE PLATTE PURCHASE, ACQUIRED BY INDIAN TREATY, SEPT. 17, 1836, TAKES ITS NAME. THIS PURCHASE GAVE MISSOURI ITS SIX NORTHWEST COUNTIES.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

The last four markers erected along Highway 36 are in St. Joseph, which is one of the outstanding historic centers of the State of Missouri. A brief history of the town is given on these markers. Two of the markers, one at the eastern and the other at the western limits of St. Joseph, bear the following inscription:

ST. JOSEPH

FOUNDED BY JOSEPH ROBIDOUX IN 1826. FIRST KNOWN AS ROY'S BRANCH AND LATER AS ROBIDOUX'S LANDING. NAMED ST. JOSEPH IN 1843. WITHIN THE REGION CALLED BY THE INDIANS "AH-KEE-WAH-WAH-LENAHWAH" (LAND OF THE ROAD TO PARADISE). THE POEM "LOVER'S LANE, ST. JO," WAS WRITTEN BY EUGENE FIELD, ONCE AN EDITOR HERE.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

On the other two markers, one located in the eastern and the other in the western limits of the town, appears the following:

ST. JOSEPH

IMPORTANT STARTING POINT ON THE OREGON-CALIFORNIA TRAIL. WESTERN TERMINUS OF THE HANNIBAL AND ST. JOSEPH RAILROAD, THE FIRST ACROSS MISSOURI, 1859. THE PONY EXPRESS TO CALIFORNIA WAS INAUGURATED HERE IN 1860.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1931.

This completes the cross-State tour which takes the motorist by twenty-nine historical highway markers. The four markers erected on Highway 61 in 1932 are the same as the four erected in Hannibal at the same time. However, Mahan's historical site marking program did not cease with the marking of Highways 36 and 61. In 1934 and 1935, he erected eleven additional markers within and near the city of Hannibal.

One of these markers was erected at the burial place of George ("Peg-Leg") Shannon, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, in the Massey cemetery one mile north of Palmyra. This roadside marker was dedicated on October 21, 1935, and marks one of the four graves of members of the expedition thought to be in Missouri. The inscription, compiled by the State Historical Society of Missouri, reads:

GEORGE SHANNON

ONE HUNDRED YARDS WEST OF THIS SPOT IS BURIED
GEORGE SHANNON, MISSOURI LAWYER, U. S. DISTRICT
ATTORNEY, AND AT SIXTEEN A MEMBER OF THE LEWIS
AND CLARK EXPEDITION. INJURED IN AN INDIAN BATTLE
IN 1807, HE LOST A LEG AND WAS KNOWN AS "PEG-LEG"
SHANNON. HIS HOME WAS AT ST. CHARLES, MO. HE DIED
AT PALMYRA, AUGUST 30, 1836.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1935.

Mahan erected individual markers to Robert Edward Coontz and William Henry Hatch in 1935 in Central park in Hannibal. These markers prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri were donated to the city of Hannibal. The inscription on the Coontz marker reads:

ROBERT EDWARD COONTZ

HANNIBAL WAS THE BIRTHPLACE AND BOYHOOD HOME OF
ADMIRAL ROBERT E. COONTZ OF THE UNITED STATES
NAVY, COMMANDANT OF THE PUGET SOUND NAVY YARD
AND THE THIRTEENTH NAVAL DISTRICT, 1915-1918. MADE
AN ADMIRAL ON OCTOBER 24, 1919, CHIEF OF NAVAL
OPERATIONS, 1919-1923, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE
UNITED STATES FLEET, 1923-1925, AND COMMANDANT OF
THE FIFTH NAVAL DISTRICT, 1925-1928. ADMIRAL
COONTZ IS BURIED IN MOUNT OLIVET CEMETERY.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1935.

The inscription on the Hatch marker reads:

WILLIAM HENRY HATCH

HANNIBAL WAS THE HOME OF WILLIAM H. HATCH, LAWYER, CONGRESSMAN, AND FATHER OF AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATIONS. HATCH SPONSORED THE LAW CREATING THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE. ADJOINING HANNIBAL IS THE HATCH FARM, BEQUEATHED TO THE STATE BY HIS DAUGHTER AND NOW OPERATED AS THE HATCH DAIRY EXPERIMENT STATION.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1935.

Hannibal was the home city which inspired in particular Mark Twain's famous books *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. In 1934, George A. Mahan erected eight markers in Hannibal memorializing the humorist and the characters and scenes which he created and made live. The inscriptions for these various markers, which were prepared by Mr. Mahan, are as follows:

MARK TWAIN BEGINS HIS LIFE CAREER

IT WAS IN THE SECOND STORY OF THIS BUILDING THAT MARK TWAIN FIRST BEGAN HIS LIFE WORK. HERE HE SET TYPE AND FIRST WROTE FOR THE NEWSPAPER. IT WAS UNDER ONE OF THE WINDOWS THAT HE FOUND THE ARTICLE ON JOAN OF ARC, WHICH CAUSED HIM TO WRITE HER LIFE.

MARK TWAIN'S FATHER'S LAW OFFICE

IT WAS HERE THAT JOHN M. CLEMENS MAINTAINED HIS LAW OFFICE IN WHICH TOM AND HUCK, SLEEPING ON THE FLOOR ONE NIGHT DISCOVERED A DEAD MAN. THEY WENT OUT THE WINDOW TAKING SASH AND ALL.

TOM SAWYER AND HUCKLEBERRY FINN

THE MARK TWAIN CAVE IS LOCATED TWO AND ONE HALF MILES SOUTH FROM THIS SPOT. FROM A LITTLE LOG HOUSE ACROSS THE RIVER THREE MILES NORTH FROM THIS PLACE MARK TWAIN STARTED HUCKLEBERRY FINN ON HIS TRIP DOWN THE RIVER. TOM SAWYER'S ISLAND IS SOUTHEAST FROM HERE ONE MILE DOWN THE RIVER. HERE HUCKLEBERRY FINN AND NIGGAR JIM STOPPED FOR A FEW DAYS ON THEIR WAY DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI.

BECKY THATCHER'S HOME

THIS WAS THE HOME OF BECKY THATCHER, TOM SAWYER'S FIRST SWEETHEART IN MARK TWAIN'S BOOK "TOM SAWYER." TOM THOUGHT BECKY TO BE THE ESSENCE OF ALL THAT IS CHARMING IN WOMANHOOD.

HUCK FINN'S HOME

ON THIS SPOT STOOD THE HOUSE IN WHICH HUCKLEBERRY FINN (IN MARK TWAIN'S FAMOUS BOOK) WAS BORN AND IT WAS HIS HOME DURING HIS CLOSE FRIENDSHIP WITH TOM SAWYER. IT WAS A HOVEL VIVIDLY DESCRIBED IN THE BOOK.

THE JAIL IN "TOM SAWYER"

HERE STOOD THE JAIL (IN MARK TWAIN'S BOOK "TOM SAWYER") IN WHICH MUFF POTTER WAS A PRISONER AWAITING TRIAL FOR MURDER.

TOM SAWYER'S FENCE

HERE STOOD THE BOARD FENCE WHICH TOM SAWYER PERSUADED HIS GANG TO PAY HIM FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF WHITEWASHING. TOM SAT BY AND SAW THAT IT WAS WELL DONE.

CARDIFF HILL

THIS IS THE FOOT OF CARDIFF HILL, MADE FAMOUS IN MARK TWAIN'S BOOKS, "TOM SAWYER" AND "HUCKLEBERRY FINN." ON THE HILL TOM, HUCK AND THEIR GANG PLAYED AND ROAMED AT WILL.

The historical markers on Highways 36 and 61 and in the city of Hannibal make a total of forty-four markers. Still another marker was erected on the State fair grounds at Sedalia, Missouri, in 1932 by the State highway department of Missouri. The inscription, which was prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri, reads:

MISSOURI HIGHWAY HISTORY

MISSOURI'S FIRST CENTURY OF ROAD HISTORY WAS ONE OF SPECIAL LEGISLATION, LOCAL CONTROL AND INADEQUATE FUNDS. LAWS OF 1907 AND 1913 PROVIDED FOR A GENERAL STATE ROAD FUND AND A HIGHWAY ENGINEER—THE FIRST EFFORT TOWARD STATE CONTROL. THE LAW OF 1917 CREATED A HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT, ASSENTED TO THE FEDERAL AID ACT OF 1916, AND PROVIDED FOR SELECTION OF AN INITIAL STATE ROAD SYSTEM. THE LAW OF 1919 INCREASED THE MILEAGE AND AUTHORIZED STATE CONSTRUCTION. A \$60,000,000 ROAD BOND ISSUE WAS VOTED IN 1920; THUS VITALIZED, THE MODERN HIGHWAY PROGRAM WAS EVOLVED THROUGH THE LAW OF 1921, WHICH ESTABLISHED THE HIGHWAY COMMISSION, EMPOWERED TO CONSTRUCT AND MAINTAIN A CONNECTED SYSTEM OF HARD-SURFACED HIGHWAYS. IN 1922 THE USE OF THE AUTO LICENSE FEES FOR MAINTENANCE WAS AUTHORIZED; IN 1924 INCREASED FEES AND A GASOLINE TAX WERE VOTED FOR ADVANCING COMPLETION; AND IN 1928 A \$75,000,000 BOND ISSUE WAS VOTED FOR IMPROVEMENT, SUPPLEMENTARY ROADS, AND COMPLETION OF THE HIGHWAY PROGRAM.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, 1932.

MISSOURI MINIATURES

JOSEPH PULITZER

Penniless and weary after a ten-day journey from New York, a gaunt and overgrown youth named Joseph Pulitzer arrived at the bank of the Mississippi river across from St. Louis on October 10, 1865. The weather was cold, a sleety rain was falling, and young Pulitzer's overcoat had been stolen before he left New York. Crossing the river proved an unexpected problem, but finally he hired out as a fireman aboard the Wiggins ferry, and after stoking the boiler for

several trips, while "roasting in front and freezing in the back," Pulitzer the next day went ashore to St. Louis.

Born in Mako, Hungary, near Budapest, on April 10, 1847, Joseph Pulitzer was the second son of Philip Pulitzer (or Politzer), a prosperous merchant of Magyar-Jewish descent, and Louise Berger Pulitzer, a beautiful woman who was of Austro-German origin. Joseph not only went to a private school but also had a special tutor. The father retired when Joseph was yet a child and the family went to Budapest to live. After Philip Pulitzer's death some years later, it was found that the fortune he had accumulated was considerably diminished.

At seventeen Joseph Pulitzer successively applied for commissions in the Austrian army, the French Foreign Legion, and the British forces, but was rejected in each instance. Disappointed, he went to Hamburg with the determination to ship as a sailor, but in this port he met an agent who was soliciting recruits for the Union army. In spite of Pulitzer's physical handicaps, which even at this early date included weak eyes, the agent accepted him. Pulitzer's ship arrived in Boston in September, 1864, but when it arrived in port he and a fellow-recruit deprived the agent of his expected bounty by diving over the side of the ship and swimming to shore.

Pulitzer made his way to New York and on September 30, 1864, enlisted in the First New York (Lincoln) Cavalry. Although the regiment, originally organized by Carl Schurz, was composed largely of Germans, young Pulitzer became the butt of the company's jokes.

The regiment served in several skirmishes in the East, participated in the review of the army at Washington, and Pulitzer's service ended on July 7, 1865. After the war he met difficulty in finding employment. He had no trade, and as yet had difficulty with the English language. Finally he decided to search for opportunity in the West, and on the recommendation of someone he decided to go to St. Louis, where already many Germans had made their homes.

Arriving in St. Louis, Pulitzer was faced with the problem of finding a way to make a living. For some time, he became

a jack-of-all-trades, accepting any job that offered itself. At the time the cholera epidemic was in full sway, he obtained through his acquaintance with Dr. Joseph Nash McDowell the wardenship of Arsenal Island, where many of the dead were taken.

Pulitzer soon made friends in St. Louis. Some of these friends helped him get a job recording the charter of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, later the St. Louis and San Francisco, in the thinly-settled Ozark counties. The task was a hard one, but Pulitzer completed it.

As a reward for his good work, Pulitzer was given a desk in the law office of William Patrick, a lawyer, and began the study of law. He also became a citizen about this time. He was admitted to the bar but apparently did not practice, earning a livable income as a notary public and by collecting debts.

Pulitzer had acquired the habit of playing chess in the Mercantile library chess room, and there he became acquainted with Dr. Emil Preterorius and Carl Schurz, owners and editors of the *Westliche Post*, St. Louis' leading daily German newspaper. They were so impressed with him that they obtained for him a position as secretary of the Deutsche Gessellschaft, a society to help newly-arrived German emigrants.

Not long after this, the *Westliche Post* needed a reporter, and after due consideration Pulitzer was hired. He could scarcely believe his good luck, but he went to work with indefatigable energy. At first his competitors on the English papers made fun of him, but they quickly realized that his persistency in digging out news and his unceasing activity made Joseph Pulitzer quite an opponent.

The editors of the *Westliche Post* soon found their new reporter dominating the paper. Not only was he developing into an important leader in St. Louis, but he was rapidly becoming a force in Missouri politics. He served as Jefferson City correspondent for the *Westliche Post* during sessions of the legislature and came to have an inside knowledge of capitol politics. In 1869 Pulitzer was a candidate in a special election of a representative from the fifth district. The district was Democratic, but Pulitzer, a Republican, won and took

his seat in the session beginning January 5, 1870. As he was only twenty-two at the time, he was under the age limit for representatives, and therefore was really an illegal representative. He continued his work for the paper, advocating his policies both in the legislature and in the newspaper.

While in Jefferson City, Pulitzer fought against the corruptness of the dual St. Louis city and county government and in so doing incurred the ire of Captain Edward Augustine. The dispute ended in a "shooting scrape," in which Augustine was slightly wounded. The incident brought an uproar in Jefferson City. The house of representatives made an attempt to investigate. Pulitzer was fined on a charge of disturbing the peace, and later under a charge of assault and attempt to kill was fined \$100 and costs. A group of his St. Louis friends paid the bill, and Pulitzer later repaid them all.

About this time the Liberal Republican movement got its start in Missouri with Carl Schurz at its head. Pulitzer became one of the principal leaders of the movement, and after the election of B. Gratz Brown, the party's candidate for governor, Pulitzer was appointed to a position on the St. Louis board of police commissioners. His period of service there, as in his other positions, was stormy. In the national campaign which the Liberal Republicans conducted in 1872, Pulitzer, then only twenty-five, made sixty campaign speeches in German. After the failure of the campaign, Pulitzer became an independent Democrat.

He had been made a partner in the ownership of the *Westliche Post*, but it soon became apparent that he was running the paper at too high a gear for his co-owners. In 1873 they offered him \$30,000 for his interest, and he accepted. With this money he took a vacation, visiting his native Hungary and other places in Europe. On his return to St. Louis, he bought the German daily *Staats-Zeitung* for almost nothing. He operated the paper for one day and then disposed of its Associated Press franchise to the newly-established morning *Globe* for \$20,000 and sold the machinery to some Germans, who started another daily. The *Globe* later combined with its competitor, the *Democrat*, to form the *Globe-Democrat*.

Pulitzer had already become a part of the social as well as the political life of St. Louis. He was elected a delegate to the Missouri constitutional convention of 1875 and took an active part in the proceedings. By this time he had mastered the speaking and writing of English with accuracy, and had also developed a loyal appreciation of American democracy. He was particularly interested in adequate provisions for public schools, and favored leaving to the people the right of deciding when the constitution should be revised or amended. He felt that to do otherwise would be to place the matter in the hands of politicians. He also fought for a revision of the St. Louis system of government, allowing for municipal home rule.

After the convention ended, he made an attempt to purchase a New York German weekly but failed, and again he sailed for Europe. The next year, on his return, he plunged into the presidential campaign on behalf of Tilden. He became so engrossed in the campaign that he overtaxed his strength and developed a lung weakness.

After doing some special writing for the *New York Sun*, Pulitzer went to Europe again, and on his return in the fall of 1877 went to Washington, D. C., where he was admitted to the bar. During his stay in Washington, he courted Miss Kate Davis, a charming and popular young lady who was a distant relative of Jefferson Davis. Pulitzer returned temporarily to St. Louis, but he soon went back to Washington and in the spring of 1878 was married to Miss Davis. The couple sailed for Europe, and on their return in the autumn of 1878 made their home in St. Louis.

Pulitzer intended to practice law, was advised against it, and soon an opportunity to get back into journalism presented itself. The *Dispatch*, not a particularly healthy St. Louis newspaper, was bankrupt and was offered for sale. William Hyde quite frankly said the paper wasn't "worth a damn," but Pulitzer bid \$2,500, subject to a \$30,000 lien, and got it. It was the only bid. There was another evening paper, the *Post*, in St. Louis at that time, and this paper's editors became alarmed at the prospect of competition, especially since the *Dispatch* had a press franchise. The *Post* was not making

money, and its owner, John A. Dillon, proposed a consolidation. This was accomplished, and on December 12, 1878, just three days after Pulitzer purchased the *Dispatch*, the combined paper, the *Post and Dispatch*, came into existence.

This merger marked the beginning of a new force in journalism, for Pulitzer not only developed the editorial and news functions of his paper but also made it a campaigner to expose the evils of society, politics, and government. It became a force in the community, State, and nation, and was soon involved in many campaigns. The paper prospered, and inside of three months it had a new press and was putting out enlarged editions. The title of *Post-Dispatch* was adopted. Pulitzer's partner, Dillon, soon found that Pulitzer was running away with this paper as he had with the *Westliche Post*, and so he sold him his interest.

By 1880 the *Post-Dispatch* was a firmly established journal. The circulation of the combined dailies had more than doubled, and by the end of 1881 Pulitzer's profits were at least \$45,000 a year.

Pulitzer returned to politics again about this time, serving as delegate to the national Democratic convention in 1880 and as a member of the platform committee of that convention. He ran unsuccessfully in the Democratic primary for nomination to Congress.

The day of personal journalism was not over in St. Louis, and there seemed to be no attempt to soften any of the *Post-Dispatch's* editorial columns. The *Missouri Republican* and the *Post-Dispatch* did not hesitate to criticize each other bitterly, and Pulitzer was twice assaulted.

Soon after he became sole owner of the *Post-Dispatch*, Pulitzer employed Colonel John A. Cockerill, a man of great newspaper ability and experience, as his managing editor. In April, 1882, following an altercation, Colonel Cockerill shot and killed Colonel Alonzo W. Slayback, a prominent St. Louis lawyer. The grand jury exonerated Cockerill and refused to bring an indictment, but the *Post-Dispatch* naturally gained many enemies over the incident. Public resentment gradually died down, however, and the paper was financially prospering.

Pulitzer's health had begun to fail and this, combined with worry over the Slayback tragedy, induced him to take a rest. On his way to Europe, however, he stopped in New York and found an opportunity to purchase the bankrupt New York *World*, owned by Jay Gould. After brief negotiations, he bought the *World* for \$346,000. The *Post-Dispatch* profits furnished the first installment and the profits of the *World* itself provided the other payments. This purchase gave Pulitzer a voice in New York through which he might participate in national affairs, and also took him away from St. Louis, where he had become exceedingly sensitive to the unfavorable criticism aroused by the Slayback incident. Pulitzer later visited St. Louis a few times but he never returned after 1889.

As he had done with the *Post-Dispatch*, Pulitzer soon brought the *World* into the money-making class. Although politically independent, the paper came to be a leading exponent of the Democratic party. It opposed Tammany. Under Pulitzer's leadership, it came to stand for the working man, the "aristocracy of labor," but in later years it became the organ of all who favored democratic policies and opposed government by and for the privileged classes. It stood courageously for its principles and free of business-office domination, yet within three years the *World* earned a profit of \$500,000.

In 1885 Pulitzer was persuaded to accept the Democratic nomination to Congress from the ninth district in New York and was elected. The difficulties of keeping up the editorship of a vigorous and critical newspaper and serving in Congress at the same time, plus his distaste for certain political features, finally led him to resign.

The *Evening World* was founded in 1887, and soon the demand for more space led to the construction of the Pulitzer building. By this time the day of "yellow journalism" was in full swing, and Pulitzer employed all of its characteristic features, stunts, cartoons, large headlines, and sensationalized stories to increase circulation. In 1896 the price of the *World* was cut to one cent, and it entered upon one of its least creditable phases in the competition with William

Randolph Hearst. Public feeling turned against the *World*, and finally under Pulitzer's direction some of the worst features of sensationalism were abandoned. After turning away from its career of sensationalism, the paper resumed its earlier influence.

Pulitzer had earlier abandoned personal management of the *World* in hope of regaining his rapidly-failing health. His eyesight grew steadily worse, however, and quite suddenly, he became almost totally blind. During his last years, he spent much of his time aboard his yacht, the specially-built *Liberty*, often cruising in foreign waters. He was extremely nervous and any noise tortured him. No matter where he was, however, he managed to keep in close contact with his papers and kept up a steady stream of orders, advice, suggestions, comments, compliments, and complaints. He kept a staff of secretaries to read to him.

Early in October, 1911, the *Liberty* sailed from New York for a leisurely cruise southward. Pulitzer's health had not been good and it was decided to put in at Charleston, South Carolina, for additional medical attendance. He did not rally as expected, however, and Mrs. Pulitzer was called from New York. In the early afternoon of October 29, 1911, he died quite peacefully.

Pulitzer had as early as 1903 announced his intention of endowing a school of journalism in connection with Columbia university, and in his will he provided \$2,000,000 for this purpose. Of this, \$500,000 was to be used for a building for the school, while half of the second million was to go for the famous Pulitzer prizes. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the New York Philharmonic also received bequests, and the will provided for other benefactions. His estate was appraised at \$18,645,249.09.

By the will the trustees were permitted to sell, at their discretion, stock in the Pulitzer publishing company, but not the New York *World* or the *Evening World*. The *Evening World* and the *World* failed to show profit, however, and in 1931 the will was broken by court decree and the papers sold to the Scripps-Howard chain. The *Evening World* merged with the *New York Telegram* and the *World* was not continued.

One of Pulitzer's sons, Joseph Pulitzer, Jr., carries on the newspaper tradition of his father. He is now president of the Pulitzer publishing company of St. Louis which publishes the *Post-Dispatch*, the only paper with which the heirs of Joseph Pulitzer are now connected.

[Sources for data on the life of Joseph Pulitzer are: Seitz, Don C., *Joseph Pulitzer, His Life & Letters* (New York, 1924); Johns, George S., "Joseph Pulitzer," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 2-4 (Jan.-Jul. 1931), pp. 201-218, 404-420, 563-75, and Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-3 (Oct. 1931-Apr. 1932), pp. 54-67, 163-78, 267-80; Ireland, Alleyne, *Joseph Pulitzer: Reminiscences of a Secretary* (New York, 1914); *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XV, pp. 260-63.]

RED-LETTER BOOKS RELATING TO MISSOURI

Commerce of the Prairies: Or the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader, During Eight Expeditions Across the Great Western Prairies, and a Residence of Nearly Nine Years in Northern Mexico. By Josiah Gregg. 2 Vols. (New York, Henry G. Langley, 1844. 638 pp.)

As the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe trail was located in Missouri, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the influence of the Santa Fe trade on Missouri. Josiah Gregg was a trader over the old trail for a number of years and through his *Commerce of the Prairies* became the recognized historian of the Santa Fe trade movement in American history.

Josiah Gregg, although not a native Missourian, was a resident of the State for many years, and hence was considered a citizen of Missouri. He became an authority on the Santa Fe trail and trade and the excellence of his book has reflected credit on the author as a Missourian. His historical account of his travels and experiences along the Santa Fe trail based upon his daily journals is ever novel and fresh because of his careful and keen observations, his intimate knowledge of the country, as well as his portrayal of an environment which has long since vanished. To appreciate fully the extent of the author's literary accomplishment, it is necessary to review his background.

Josiah Gregg was born in Overton county, Tennessee, July 19, 1806. His parents were Harmon and Susannah

(Schmelzer) Gregg, his father being a descendant of William Gregg, a Quaker immigrant from Ulster, Ireland, who settled in Pennsylvania about 1682. Some time after their marriage in 1796, Harmon and his wife moved to Overton county, Tennessee, where they lived until 1809 when the family removed to Illinois, and thence three years later to the neighborhood of Fort Cooper on the Missouri river. In 1825, they moved farther west to a farm about five miles northeast of the present city of Independence, Missouri. Josiah was the fifth of eight children born to the Greggs between 1797 and 1818. The father built a log house, one story and a half high, which was quite typical of the period. As Josiah never married, he considered this his home during the interim of his extended travels.

As a boy, Josiah revealed two characteristics which doubtlessly appeared alarming to his elders and not conducive to happiness in the hard frontier life of the time. First, he was a sickly child and seemed predestined to succumb to some form of chronic ailment. Secondly, he showed an avid liking for books very early in life. It is obvious that the kind of education available in schools of the day could not at all satisfy his scholarly thirst for knowledge. Consequently, most of his education was self-acquired. Because of bad health, he aspired to a career in one of the "learned" professions. It is known that he studied surveying and read law for a while. At one time he applied to a Dr. Sappington of Saline county to take him as a student but he was refused. He acquired a working knowledge of Latin, French, Italian, and German and an excellent command of Spanish. His chronic illness continued to thwart his plans for earning a livelihood and finally influenced his making an important decision which was to determine the trend of his lifework. In the preface to the first edition of the *Commerce of the Prairies*, he explained how this came about:

For some months preceding the year 1831 my health had been gradually declining under a complication of chronic diseases which defied every plan of treatment that the sagacity and science of my medical friends could devise. This morbid condition of my system, which originated in the familiar miseries of dyspepsia and its kindred infirmities, had finally

reduced me to such a state that for nearly a twelvemonth I was not only disqualified for any systematic industry but so debilitated as rarely to be able to extend my walks beyond the narrow precincts of my chamber. In this hopeless condition, my physicians advised me to take a trip across the prairies, and in the change of air and habits which such an adventure would involve to seek that health which their science had failed to bestow. I accepted their suggestion, and without hesitation proceeded at once to make the necessary preparations for joining one of the spring caravans which were annually starting from the United States for Santa Fe.

The effects of this journey were in the first place to re-establish my health, and, in the second, to beget a passion for prairie life which I never expect to survive.

With reference to the *Commerce of the Prairies*, he wrote further:

This work has been prepared chiefly from a journal which I have been in the habit of keeping from my youth upward, and in which I was careful to preserve memoranda of my observations while engaged in the Santa Fe trade, though without the remotest intention of ever appropriating them to the present purpose. In addition, however, I have embraced every opportunity of procuring authentic information through others upon such matters as were beyond my sphere of observation.

These two quotations authenticate the two factors which contributed greatly to the creation of this classic work. The first decision led to his becoming engaged in the Santa Fe trade for nearly ten years and in turn gave him an intimate knowledge of the route. In the second place, the daily record he made of his observations and experiences even from youth insured a wealth of detailed information from which to write his book.

The value of a book of travel is particularly dependent upon the qualifications and character of the author. Many a travel book has been spoiled by the narrator's inclination to exaggerate, to harbor a strong bias, to romanticize, to be sensational, or deliberately to fabricate.

Josiah Gregg was particularly fitted for writing the first history of the Santa Fe trail. His background of general culture and his wide range of interests contributed to the brilliant diversity of his book. His flare for languages made him an eager student of Indian dialects. His fondness for mathematics was valuable in surveying the wild uncharted

terrain and in guiding his parties through the bewildering stretches of desert country. The following incident is typical in showing his ability as a guide. On one of his later trips to Santa Fe, it was deemed expedient to abandon the regular route for one farther south and untrod. Several times some of the men thought that they were "utterly lost." Gregg wrote:

In this emergency one of our Mexicans, who pretended to be a great deal wiser than the rest, insisted that we were pursuing a wrong direction and that every day's march only took us farther from Santa Fe. There appeared to be so much plausibility in his assertion, as he professed a perfect knowledge of all the country around, that many of our men were almost ready to mutiny—to take the command from the hands of my brother and myself and lead us southward . . . where we would probably have perished. But our observations of the latitude, which we took very frequently, as well as the course we were pursuing, completely contradicted the Mexican wiseacre. A few days afterwards we were overtaken by a party of . . . Mexican Comanche traders, when we had the satisfaction of learning that we were on the right track.¹

Gregg's veracity and conscientiousness were unquestionable. His brother, John, testified to some of his decided characteristics in a letter to Dr. George Englemann:

He possessed the most scrupulous and conscientious integrity from infancy to his death. . . . He was modest and unassuming. . . . In boyhood, he never could be induced to tell an untruth—even in jest. He was remarkably temperate both in eating and drinking. He sometimes would take a glass of spirits with a friend, as it would appear, merely not to be considered odd.²

The author was known to his contemporaries as "Doctor Gregg" and this professional title has been bestowed upon him by reviewers and his biographers, although when and where such a degree was acquired was not known until recently. Although a local physician refused to teach him, his interest in medicine was not lessened. The "Historical Introduction" to the Lakeside Press edition of the *Commerce of the Prairies* published in 1926 states that he "was sent by the family to a medical college in Philadelphia, where he

¹Gregg, Josiah, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

²Lee, John Thomas, "Josiah Gregg and Dr. George Englemann" in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XLI (October, 1931), p. 395.

remained several years." Also, in the article on Gregg in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the statement is made that "he somehow acquired a knowledge of medicine and surgery that caused him to be dubbed a doctor, though he never engaged in practice." From his book it is obvious that he knew a great deal about medicine. His brother wrote:

Having found it necessary while engaged in the Santa Fe trade to understand something of medicine, for the purpose of administering to those in his employ, as well as others in company, he had procured, and continually carried with him a small collection of medical books; and such was his reputation in administering of remedies, that, not only his men, while on the plains, but many of his friends and relations at home, would not consent to have a physician called so long as he could be induced to attend the patient.³

One would assume that if he studied medicine at any college he would have done so before the publication of his book in 1844, when he was 38 years old, but such was not the case. The credit for clearing up this mystery goes to John Thomas Lee who found a collection of letters written by Josiah and his brother, John, to Dr. George Englemann, in the archives of the Filson club of Louisville, Kentucky. In the same letter quoted from above, the brother stated that Josiah studied medicine in the winter of 1845-1846, when nearly 40 years old. Lee, in introducing his edition of letters of the Greggs and Englemann, offers this conclusive proof:

... and to clinch the whole matter, reference to the records of the medical department of the University of Louisville (now the University of Louisville School of Medicine) founded in 1837, discloses the fact that he was given the degree of Doctor of Medicine by that institution in 1846.⁴

From the same source we learn that Dr. Gregg practiced medicine in Mexico for over a year immediately after his service in the United States army in the war with Mexico.

There is a wealth of interesting information and exciting episodes in each chapter of Dr. Gregg's book. There are whole chapters devoted to "The Indians of the Prairies"

³*Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 380.

and "The Aborigines of America." In other chapters, extensive accounts of the organization and management of trading parties are given as well as details concerning the character and diversity of the traders and the customs of the trail. Always he included a physiographical description and minute account of the route taken. The many sub-headings of the edition call attention to such topics and incidents as: eccentricities of oxen, culinary propensities, the first sight of buffalo, tricks of marauding Indians, troubles in fording streams, the mirage and false ponds, the art of curing meat, and the value of a thick skull. Scattered throughout the two volumes are accurate and sound comments on government, politics, religion, crime, superstitions, agriculture, mining operations in the Southwest, etc. The keenness of his observation and judgment is borne out by the fact that he was the first American writer to note the diminishing numbers of buffalo and to predict their early extinction.⁵

Gregg's knowledge of the Indian was prodigious. Unlike the fur trader who depended greatly upon friendly relations with the roving tribes of Indians, Gregg usually tried to avoid direct contact with them. However, the Indians were very fond of trading with the white men and often followed a party for days seeking every opportunity to trade or to steal. Gregg soon discovered that the Indians were more friendly and less treacherous if allowed the courtesy of a trading powwow. His attitude was at all times completely realistic. He never romanticised among them nor deceived himself or others about their trickery and dangerous traits. He dealt with them honestly and seemed to have won their respect and trust to a high degree.

During the early 1820s, it was suicidal for the solitary trader or small uninitiated groups to travel through the Indian territory. They were almost sure to lose their scalps. A scheme was gradually evolved whereby a high degree of safety was achieved with heavily armed men, hollow-square camp-forts formed with wagons, and faithful night watches. Some of the larger caravans were convoyed by American

⁵Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Vol. II, p. 213.

troops. These often numbered nearly 100 wagons and carried goods worth over a million dollars.

Dr. Gregg made a great contribution to contemporary knowledge of Mexican political affairs and trade practices. He dwelt at length upon the vagaries of custom duties, tariffs, and bribery. The trader, having escaped the dangers of hostile savages and the tortures of desert thirst, was often robbed of the profits of his business venture at the end of his journey in the Mexican custom house. The author's knowledge of Spanish, his interest in archaeological and geological history of the Mexican provinces of that era, and finally his access to the archives of Santa Fe, have resulted in the preservation of much material upon which the historian of today is dependent. His historical sketch of New Mexico is believed to be the first printed in the English language. His habit of collecting geological and botanical specimens which were new to him contributed to contemporary knowledge.

After nine years of prairie life and adventures in New Mexico, Gregg quit the Santa Fe trail for a more settled life in the East. During 1841 and 1842, he contributed a number of letters dealing with the history and commercial state of the Santa Fe trade to newspapers and thereby gained favorable publicity as a writer. These literary efforts together with the influence of his friendship with John Bigelow of New York led him to write the story of those nine years based upon his extensive journals.

According to one commentator:

. . . Among the men who achieved a place in history in connection with the Santa Fe Trail, none reached higher distinction than that attained by Dr. Josiah Gregg. He was a trader over the old trail for many years, and he became the recognized historian of the entire movement. His *Commerce of the Prairies* is one of the accepted authorities on American History. . . . His monument he built with his own hands, but other pillars will be raised to his memory in many states by his grateful countrymen . . . but that erected by Missouri should overtop them all.⁶

⁶Connelley, William E., "Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of the Old Santa Fe Trail" in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. X., Part 2 (1919-1920), pp. 334-48.

Commerce of the Prairies was first published in two volumes simultaneously at New York and London in 1844 and sold for \$2.00. First editions of the work are now rare and sell at the present for about \$40.00. The value of the work was recognized from the first and it achieved immediate success. It became the principal authority on the Santa Fe trail and trade and related subjects. Incidentally, the map of the Santa Fe trail which Gregg made for the first edition was considered by competent authorities to be the most reliable of the time.

The whole work is written in dignified and scholarly prose. While the style may be considered "elegant" and archaic for the taste of the modern reading generation, it is on the whole most stimulating and never tedious for those who like a narrative written with vividness and complete honesty.

Second and third editions of the work were offered to the public in 1845 and others followed in 1850, 1855, and 1857. Curiously enough, the sixth edition came out under the title, *Scenes and Incidents in the Western Prairies*. The original work was also published in three different editions in Germany between 1845 and 1847.

It is hoped that the original journals of Josiah Gregg will be published some day. The reviewer has been informed by a good authority that twelve or more of the journals, preserved in their original buffalo-hide coverings, are still in the possession of a member of the Gregg family residing in the Southwest today.—Contributed by Louis M. Nourse, Librarian, Kansas City Public Library.

[Sources for data on Josiah Gregg are: Lee, John Thomas, "New Found Letters of Josiah Gregg" in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XL (April, 1930), pp. 47-68; Lee, "Josiah Gregg and Dr. George Englemann" in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. XLI, Part 2 (October, 1921), pp. 355-404; Lee, "The Authorship of Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*" in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (March, 1930), pp. 451-66; Connelley, William E., *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, Kans., 1907), pp. 162-77; Connelley, "Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of Old Santa Fe Trail" in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. X, Part 2 (1919-1920), pp. 334-48; Mitchell,

Ralph E., *Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of the Santa Fe Trail* (Santa Fe, N. M., [1924]); *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VII, pp. 597-98.]

MISSOURI'S GROWTH IN POPULATION, 1870-1940.

The table presented here gives the census record of the State of Missouri from 1870 to 1940. The census figures for Missouri from 1820 to 1860, including both the free and slave population, were presented in the January, 1941, issue of the *Review*.

In order to conform to the space available, two rows of figures in four columns are listed for each county. Thus in reading the table, the top figure in the first column gives the 1870 census total and the second figure the 1880 total. In the second column, the top figure is the 1890 census total, and the second is the 1900 total; in the third column, the top figure is for 1910 and the lower figure for 1920; and in the fourth and last column, the top figure is for 1930 and the lower figure for 1940.

POPULATION OF MISSOURI, 1870 TO 1940

County	1870	1890	1910	1930
	1880	1900	1920	1940
Adair.....	11,448	17,417	22,700	19,436
	15,190	21,728	21,404	20,246
Andrew.....	15,137	16,000	15,282	13,469
	16,318	17,332	14,075	13,015
Atchison.....	8,440	15,533	13,604	13,421
	14,556	16,501	13,008	12,897
Audrain.....	12,307	22,074	21,687	22,077
	19,732	21,160	20,589	22,673
Barry.....	10,373	22,943	23,869	22,803
	14,405	25,532	23,473	23,546
Barton.....	5,087	18,504	16,747	14,560
	10,332	18,253	16,879	14,148
Bates.....	15,960	32,223	25,869	22,068
	25,381	30,141	23,933	19,531
Benton.....	11,322	14,973	14,881	11,708
	12,396	16,556	12,989	11,142
Bollinger.....	8,162	13,121	14,576	12,269
	11,130	14,650	13,909	12,898

<i>County</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1930</i>
	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1940</i>
Boone.....	20,765	26,043	30,533	30,995
	25,422	28,642	29,672	34,991
Buchanan.....	35,109	70,100	93,020	98,633
	49,792	121,838	93,684	94,067
Butler.....	4,298	10,164	20,624	23,697
	6,011	16,769	24,106	34,276
Caldwell.....	11,390	15,152	14,605	12,509
	13,646	16,656	13,849	11,629
Callaway.....	19,202	25,131	24,400	19,923
	23,670	25,984	23,007	23,094
Camden.....	6,108	10,040	11,582	9,142
	7,266	13,113	10,474	8,971
Cape Girardeau..	17,558	22,060	27,621	33,203
	20,998	24,315	29,839	37,775
Carroll.....	17,446	25,742	23,098	19,940
	23,274	26,455	20,480	17,814
Carter.....	1,455	4,659	5,504	5,503
	2,168	6,706	7,482	6,226
Cass.....	19,296	23,301	22,973	20,962
	22,431	23,636	21,536	19,534
Cedar.....	9,474	15,620	16,080	11,136
	10,741	16,923	13,933	11,697
Chariton.....	19,136	26,254	23,503	19,588
	25,224	26,826	21,769	18,084
Christian.....	6,707	14,017	15,832	13,169
	9,628	16,939	15,252	13,538
Clark.....	13,667	15,126	12,811	10,254
	15,031	15,383	11,874	10,166
Clay.....	15,564	19,856	20,302	26,811
	15,572	18,903	20,455	30,417
Clinton.....	14,063	17,138	15,297	13,505
	16,073	17,363	14,461	13,261
Cole.....	10,292	17,281	21,957	30,848
	15,515	20,578	24,680	34,912
Cooper.....	20,692	22,707	20,311	19,522
	21,596	22,532	19,308	18,075
Crawford.....	7,982	11,961	13,576	11,287
	10,756	12,959	12,355	12,693
Dade.....	8,683	17,526	15,613	11,764
	12,557	18,125	14,173	11,248
Dallas.....	8,383	12,647	13,181	10,541
	9,263	13,903	12,033	11,523

<i>County</i>	<i>1870 1880</i>	<i>1890 1900</i>	<i>1910 1920</i>	<i>1930 1940</i>
Daviess.....	14,410 19,145	20,456 21,325	17,605 16,641	14,424 13,398
De Kalb.....	9,858 13,334	14,539 14,418	12,531 11,694	10,270 9,751
Dent.....	6,357 10,646	12,149 12,986	13,245 12,318	10,974 11,763
Douglas.....	3,915 7,753	14,111 16,802	16,664 15,436	13,959 15,600
Dunklin.....	5,982 9,604	15,085 21,706	30,328 32,773	35,799 44,957
Franklin.....	30,098 26,534	28,056 30,581	29,830 28,427	30,519 33,868
Gasconade.....	10,093 11,153	11,706 12,298	12,847 12,381	12,172 12,414
Gentry.....	11,607 17,176	19,018 20,554	16,820 15,634	14,348 13,359
Greene.....	21,549 28,801	48,616 52,713	63,831 68,698	82,929 90,541
Grundy.....	10,567 15,185	17,876 17,832	16,744 17,554	16,135 15,716
Harrison.....	14,635 20,304	21,033 24,398	20,466 19,719	17,233 16,525
Henry.....	17,401 23,906	28,235 28,054	27,242 25,116	22,931 22,313
Hickory.....	6,452 7,387	9,453 9,985	8,741 7,033	6,430 6,506
Holt.....	11,652 15,509	15,469 17,083	14,539 14,084	12,720 12,476
Howard.....	17,233 18,428	17,371 18,337	15,653 13,997	13,490 13,026
Howell.....	4,218 8,814	18,618 21,834	21,065 21,102	19,672 22,270
Iron.....	6,278 8,183	9,119 8,716	8,563 9,458	9,642 10,440
Jackson.....	55,041 82,325	160,510 195,193	283,522 367,846	470,454 477,828
Jasper.....	14,928 32,019	50,500 84,018	89,673 75,941	73,810 78,705
Jefferson.....	15,380 18,736	22,484 25,712	27,878 26,555	27,563 32,023
Johnson.....	24,648 28,172	28,132 27,843	26,297 24,899	22,413 21,617
Knox.....	10,974 13,047	13,501 13,479	12,403 10,783	9,658 8,878

	County	1870 1880	1890 1900	1910 1920	1930 1940
424	Laclede.....	9,380	14,701	17,363	16,320
398		11,524	16,523	16,857	18,718
270	Lafayette.....	22,623	30,184	30,154	29,259
751		25,710	31,679	30,006	27,856
974	Lawrence.....	13,067	26,228	26,583	23,774
763		17,583	31,662	24,211	24,637
959	Lewis.....	15,114	15,935	15,514	12,093
600		15,925	16,724	13,465	11,490
799	Lincoln.....	15,960	18,346	17,033	13,929
957		17,426	18,352	15,956	14,395
519	Linn.....	15,900	24,121	25,253	23,339
868		20,016	25,503	24,778	21,416
172	Livingston.....	16,730	20,668	19,453	18,615
414		20,196	22,302	18,857	18,000
348	McDonald.....	5,226	11,283	13,539	13,936
359		7,816	13,574	14,690	15,749
929	Macon.....	23,230	30,575	30,868	23,070
541		26,222	33,018	27,518	21,396
135	Madison.....	5,849	9,268	11,273	9,418
716		8,876	9,975	10,721	9,656
233	Maries.....	5,916	8,600	10,088	8,368
525		7,304	9,616	9,500	8,638
931	Marion.....	23,780	26,233	30,572	33,493
313		24,837	26,331	30,226	31,576
430	Mercer.....	11,557	14,581	12,335	9,350
606		14,673	14,706	11,281	8,766
720	Miller.....	6,616	14,162	16,717	16,728
476		9,805	15,187	15,567	14,798
190	Mississippi.....	4,982	10,134	14,557	15,762
926		9,270	11,837	12,860	23,149
572	Moniteau.....	11,375	15,630	14,375	12,173
470		14,346	15,931	13,532	11,775
442	Monroe.....	17,149	20,790	18,304	13,466
440		19,071	19,716	16,414	13,195
454	Montgomery.....	10,405	16,850	15,604	13,011
428		16,249	16,571	15,233	12,442
410	Morgan.....	8,434	12,311	12,863	10,968
05		10,132	12,175	12,015	11,140
63	New Madrid.....	6,357	9,317	19,488	30,262
23		7,694	11,280	25,180	39,787
13	Newton.....	12,821	22,108	27,136	26,959
17		18,947	27,001	24,886	29,039
58	Nodaway.....	14,751	30,914	28,833	26,371
78		29,544	32,938	27,744	25,556

<i>County</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1930</i>
	<i>1880</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1940</i>
Oregon.....	3,287	10,467	14,681	12,220
	5,791	13,906	12,889	13,390
Osage.....	10,793	13,080	14,283	12,462
	11,824	14,096	13,559	12,375
Ozark.....	3,363	9,795	11,926	9,537
	5,618	12,145	11,125	10,766
Pemiscot.....	2,059	5,975	19,559	37,284
	4,299	12,115	26,634	46,857
Perry.....	9,877	13,237	14,898	13,707
	11,895	15,134	14,434	15,358
Pettis.....	18,706	31,151	33,913	34,664
	27,271	32,438	35,813	33,336
Phelps.....	10,506	12,636	15,796	15,308
	12,568	14,194	14,941	17,437
Pike.....	23,076	26,321	22,556	18,001
	26,715	25,744	20,345	18,327
Platte.....	17,352	16,248	14,429	13,819
	17,366	16,193	13,996	13,862
Polk.....	12,445	20,339	21,561	17,803
	15,734	23,255	20,351	17,400
Pulaski.....	4,714	9,387	11,438	10,755
	7,250	10,394	10,490	10,775
Putnam.....	11,217	15,365	14,308	11,503
	13,555	16,688	13,115	11,327
Ralls.....	10,510	12,294	12,913	10,704
	11,838	12,287	10,412	10,040
Randolph.....	15,908	24,893	26,182	26,431
	22,751	24,442	27,633	24,458
Ray.....	18,700	24,215	21,451	19,846
	20,190	24,805	20,508	18,584
Reynolds.....	3,756	6,803	9,592	8,923
	5,722	8,161	10,106	9,370
Ripley.....	3,175	8,512	13,099	11,176
	5,377	13,186	12,061	12,606
St. Charles.....	21,304	22,977	24,695	24,354
	23,065	24,474	22,828	25,562
St. Clair.....	6,742	16,747	16,412	13,289
	14,125	17,907	15,341	13,146
St. Francois.....	9,742	17,347	35,738	35,832
	13,822	24,051	31,403	35,950
St. Louisa.....	351,189	36,307	82,417	211,593
	31,888	50,040	100,737	274,230
St. Louis City.....	451,770	687,029	821,960
	350,518	575,238	772,897	816,048

<i>County</i>	<i>1870</i> <i>1880</i>	<i>1890</i> <i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i> <i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i> <i>1940</i>
Ste. Genevieve....	8,384	9,883	10,607	10,097
Saline.....	10,390	10,359	9,809	10,905
Schuyler.....	21,672	33,762	29,448	30,598
Scotland.....	29,911	33,703	28,826	29,416
Scott.....	8,820	11,249	9,062	6,951
Shannon.....	10,470	10,840	8,383	6,627
Shelby.....	10,670	12,674	11,869	8,853
Stoddard.....	12,508	13,232	10,700	8,557
Stone.....	7,317	11,228	22,372	24,913
Sullivan.....	8,587	13,092	23,409	30,377
Taney.....	2,339	8,898	11,443	10,894
Texas.....	3,441	11,247	11,865	11,831
Vernon.....	10,119	15,642	14,864	11,983
Warren.....	14,024	16,167	13,617	11,224
Washington.....	8,535	17,327	27,807	27,452
Wayne.....	13,431	24,669	29,755	33,009
Webster.....	3,253	7,090	11,559	11,614
Wright.....	4,404	9,892	11,941	11,298
Totals.....	11,907	19,000	18,598	15,212
	16,569	20,282	17,781	13,701
	4,407	7,973	9,134	8,867
	5,599	10,127	8,178	10,323
	9,618	19,406	21,458	18,580
	12,206	22,192	20,548	19,813
	11,247	31,505	28,827	25,031
	19,369	31,619	26,069	25,586
	9,673	9,913	9,123	8,082
	10,806	9,919	8,490	7,734
	11,719	13,153	13,378	14,450
	12,896	14,263	13,803	17,492
	6,068	11,927	15,181	12,243
	9,096	15,309	13,012	12,794
	10,434	15,177	17,377	16,148
	12,175	16,640	16,609	17,226
	5,004	8,738	8,007	6,535
	8,203	9,832	7,642	6,345
	5,684	14,484	18,315	16,741
	9,712	17,519	17,733	17,967
Totals.....	1,721,295	2,679,185 ^b	3,293,335	3,629,367
	2,168,380	3,106,665	3,404,055	3,784,664

(a) St. Louis city separated from county in 1876.

(b) State total for 1890 includes one Indian specially enumerated, not included in the population of any county.

DO YOU KNOW OR DON'T YOU?

That in order to make sure no "jokers" crept in, Meriwether Lewis wrote the entire treaty which was presented to the Osage Indians and signed on November 10, 1808, at Fort Osage in present Jackson county? An earlier treaty, negotiated by General William Clark on September 14, 1808, was never ratified by Congress. The treaty negotiated by Clark, conceded to the United States government all Osage claims to the land east of a line drawn south from Fort Osage to the Arkansas river. This document provided for an annuity of \$1,000 for the Big Osages and \$500 for the Little Osages and other minor compensations. The treaty written by Lewis was similar to the Clark treaty but added title to Osage claims north of the river as well as south. At the time the treaty was made, Lewis was governor of the territory of Louisiana which later became the territory of Missouri. William Clark was Missouri's last territorial governor.

That a physician in rural Missouri performed successful plastic surgery operations as early as 1858? Dr. Isaac Pleasants Vaughan, who located in Glasgow in 1839 and practiced medicine there until 1864, accomplished the delicate task of making a new nose for one of his patients, Joseph Salmon, of Saline County. Dr. Vaughan took a piece of flesh, sufficiently large to make the nose, from Salmon's forehead and placed it in the proper position. In a short time, the new nose was as permanently fixed as if it has grown there originally. The *Glasgow Weekly Times* of September 16, 1858, reported that the patient went on his way rejoicing with a nose as perfect as the one with which he was born.

That although efforts had been made to capture the James gang for almost fifteen years, it was only one year, two months, and nine days after the issuance of the famous Crittenden proclamation that the last outstanding member of the gang placed himself at the mercy of the law? The proclamation was made by Governor Thomas T. Crittenden on July 28, 1881. In this

brief period of time, Jesse James was killed, William Ryan was captured and sent to the penitentiary, Wood Hite was killed by a comrade, Robert Ford and Dick Lidell surrendered, and Clarence Hite was captured in Kentucky. After Jesse's death on April 3, 1882, Frank James was the only outstanding member of the gang still at large. His surrender on October 5, 1882, marked the final step in breaking up the gang, as far as principal members were concerned, in a little more than a year's time after the Crittenden proclamation.

That Andrew Jackson is the only individual honored twice in Missouri's county names? Jackson county, the twenty-ninth organized in the State, was given the name of the hero of New Orleans on December 15, 1826. Jackson was honored a second time on February 14, 1845, when a county was named from his famous sobriquet, "Old Hickory."

That Missouri, with a slave population of 114,931 in the federal census of 1860, was the first slave state to free its slaves.

That Governor Thomas C. Fletcher borrowed the sum of \$5,000, giving his own personal note, from a St. Louis bank in July, 1866, and placed it at the disposal of the board of curators of the University of Missouri? Governor Fletcher's generosity made it possible to open the university for the next session. The curators, in 1867, reported an indebtedness of \$29,249.96 in addition to the loan assured by Governor Fletcher. The legislature appropriated \$10,000 for the university that year—the first appropriation made for the institution from State revenue funds.

That in every presidential election since 1900, Missouri has cast her vote for the winning candidate? Idaho has a similar voting record. Only three states have better winning records than Missouri and Idaho. Maryland has been in the winning column since 1888, Ohio since 1892, and Wyoming since 1896.

That Blanche Kelso Bruce, the first Negro who sat in the United States senate, spent a part of his youth in Missouri and at one time taught in a school for Negroes at Hannibal? Bruce, a native of Prince Edward county, Virginia, became a planter in Mississippi after the Civil war. He was elected as a Republican to the senate and served from March 4, 1875, until March 3, 1881. President James A. Garfield appointed him register of the treasury on May 19, 1881. He was re-named to the office in 1897 by President McKinley and served until his death on March 17, 1898.

That in the period between the panic of 1819 and the panic of 1837, when almost every state in the Union was rushing through an extensive internal improvement program, often involving the state in huge debts, Missouri spent practically nothing for internal improvements? During this time Maryland proposed to borrow \$10,000,000 from Europe to finance her improvements; the Indiana legislature passed a bill for spending \$20,000,000 for internal improvements; while Illinois adopted a railroad and canal construction program at a cost of about \$35 per capita.

That General Marquis de Lafayette and his son, George Washington LaFayette, were made honorary members of the Masonic grand lodge of Missouri? They were received on April 29, 1825, during the general's famous visit to this country. They were probably the first honorary members received into the grand lodge.

That Henry Shaw, a native Englishman founded in St. Louis one of the three most outstanding botanical gardens in the world? Officially named the Missouri Botanical garden, it is widely known as "Shaw's Gardens." Shaw came to America to accumulate a fortune, with the idea of ultimately returning to England to live. Instead, he remained in this country and left his fortune here. Shaw not only donated the

Botanical garden and an endowment for it, but he also made Tower Grove park possible and endowed the Henry Shaw school of botany at Washington university in St. Louis.

That Joseph W. McClurg was the only chief executive of Missouri who resigned a seat in Congress to accept the governorship? McClurg, elected as the representative from the fifth Missouri district in 1862, was completing his third term in 1868, the year he was elected governor. He resigned and John H. Stover was elected to complete his term, serving from December 7, 1868, until March 3, 1869. Eight other governors of the State, John C. Edwards, Sterling Price, Willard P. Hall, John Smith Phelps, Thomas T. Crittenden, William Joel Stone, Alexander M. Dockery, and Henry S. Caulfield, served in the lower house of Congress before they were elected to the governorship. In all of these cases two or more years elapsed between the expiration of their congressional terms and the beginning of their gubernatorial terms. Two governors of the State, John Miller and Austin A. King, were elected to Congress after they had served as governors. B. Gratz Brown was the only Missourian who served in the United States senate before he was elected governor of the State. In 1863 he was elected to the senate for the term ending March 4, 1867. He was elected governor in 1870, serving a two-year term. Two governors of the State served in the senate after they had been elected to the governorship. Trusten Polk, elected governor in 1856, resigned to become the United States senator from Missouri, serving from March 4, 1857, until he was expelled on January 10, 1862, during the Civil war. William J. Stone, the State's governor from 1893 until 1897, was elected to the senate in 1903 and served until his death on April 14, 1918.

WITH EARLY MISSOURI LAWMAKERS

"With Early Missouri Lawmakers" introduces a new feature in the "Missouriana" section of the *Review*, which supersedes "Verse in the Missouri Pioneer Press." Selections for the feature will be chosen from acts passed by the early legis-

latures of Missouri and reports submitted by legislative committees and commissions.

The laws of the State, extensively used as a basic source for the study of Missouri's history, are in many cases significant and interesting in themselves. Many dramatic incidents in the State's history are reflected in unusual provisions which were written into the statutes. Unread, even unknown, chapters in Missouri history are buried in obscure sections of the State's laws.

The two selections presented in this issue of the *Review* deal with the attempt to outlaw dueling and a little-known venture in taxation.

DUELING

Three-quarters of a century before Mark Twain laughed the seriousness out of dueling by his burlesque of the imaginary encounter with M. Leon Gambetta, some prominent Missourians were wont to follow the code with meticulous care. Although the territorial legislature in 1814 had sought to prevent dueling by fixing a \$200 fine and making it illegal for anyone convicted of challenging, accepting a challenge, or bearing a challenge for a duel to hold office of profit or trust in the territory and to vote in the elections, duels were so frequent that Timothy Flint described the territory as "beyond the Sabbath." And in less than three years after the enactment of the anti-dueling provision, the famous Benton-Lucas duel resulted in the death of Charles Lucas.

In 1822, the State legislature, passed an act "more effectually to prevent duelling," describing the practice as a barbarous custom. Abiel Leonard, then a young attorney of Howard county, was convicted under the provisions of this act, fined \$150, and rendered "incapable of holding or being elected to any post of profit, trust or emolument, civil or military, under the government of this State." Leonard fought the duel for which he was convicted with Taylor Berry, whom he had prosecuted on charges of forgery in the Howard county circuit court. Although Berry was acquitted, he assaulted Leonard with a whip. Leonard sent a challenge by Thomas J. Boggs and the duel took place September 1, 1824, on an island near New Madrid. Berry received a fatal wound. Leonard and Boggs were both indicted by a Howard county grand jury, but Boggs took legal immunity and was discharged. Leonard stood trial on October 24, 1824, and was convicted. Within two months, on December 24, the State legislature passed the following act:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, That the said Abiel Leonard, be and he is hereby restored to all the rights, privileges and liberties of a citizen of this State, in as full, and perfect a manner, as he possessed, and enjoyed them before the conviction and judgment aforesaid. This

act shall take effect and be in force from and after the passage thereof, and shall be taken and considered a public act.

After being thus restored to full citizenship, Leonard served as a member of the State legislature in 1834, and in 1855 was named to the supreme court bench.

STATE TAX ON SALARIES

Buried in an "act to sustain the credit of the State," approved on February 16, 1847, by the fourteenth general assembly of Missouri, is an income tax of 1 per cent on all salaries. The section which levied the tax read:

In addition to the ordinary poll tax herein required to be collected, there shall be annually levied and collected from all persons who at the time of assessment may be receiving, either in the capacity of public officers or private individuals, an annual or stated salary for their services a tax of one per cent upon the amount of the salaries of all such persons. . . . The foregoing provisions of this section, shall be applicable to all State and county officers who do not receive a stated salary, but who receive compensation in fees, and to members of the Legislature.

Assessors were authorized to require written statements, verified by oath or affirmation, setting forth the amount of salary received. Persons employed on farms, unless they were hired as overseers or managers, were specifically exempted from paying the tax. Taxes, levied and collected under the provisions of the section, were for State purposes only, and the county courts were prohibited from levying any taxes for county purposes under its provisions. The tax evidently proved unpopular, for it was repealed on February 28, 1851. Reports of the State auditor list the returns from the salary tax as follows: \$2,156.279 in 1847; \$2,021.029 in 1848; \$2,421.40 in 1849; and \$1,237.97 in 1850.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the months of August and September, 1940, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated. These names were omitted from the January issue of the *Review*, which contained only the names of members active in increasing the Society's membership during the month of October, 1940.

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Winkelmaier, Robert C., St. Louis

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Gray, Chester H., Washington, D. C.

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Cady, T. S., Kansas City

ONE NEW MEMBER

Anderson, Morris, Hannibal	McGregor, W. B., Jefferson City
Barriger, John W., III, Washington, D. C.	Moll, Justus R., Jefferson City
Beall, J. W., St. Louis	Monier, Roy H., Carrollton
Carpenter, W. W., Columbia	Morgan, J. G., Unionville
Easton, H. C., Jefferson City	Murrell, Mrs. Lula L., Marshall
Eskridge, Elsie Lee, Platte City	Osborn, Mrs. D. R., Kansas City
Gentry, N. T., Columbia	Pressler, L. P., Rivermines
Grimm, Horace F., St. Louis	Preston, E. L., Jefferson City
Hart, Walter O., Breckenridge	Rozier, George A., Perryville
Honig, Louis O., Kansas City	Schultz, Prof. Gerard, Iberia
Humphreys, Mossie, Fulton	Shaner, Dolph, Joplin
Ike, Carl B., West Plains	Smith, Edgar E., Owensville
Jameson, W. Ed., Fulton	Smith, Frederick M., Independence
Kelleter, Paul D., Kirkwood	Smith, Hugh C., Washington, D. C.
Knipmeyer, Gilbert, St. Louis	Valentine, Robert, Union
Lawlor, Margaret M., St. Joseph	Van Horn, Adela, Kansas City
Leedy, C. A., Jefferson City	Wilkinson, Mrs. H. C., New Haven
Leffler, Otto F., St. Louis	Withers, Mrs. Robert S., Liberty

During the three months from November, 1940, through January, 1941, the following members of the Society have increased its membership as indicated:

TEN NEW MEMBERS

Kocian, Arthur A., St. Louis

SIX NEW MEMBERS

Mississippi County Historical Society, Charleston

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Dougherty, Paul F., Jefferson City

Fradenburg, B. J., Kansas City

Hawkins, A. L., Jefferson City

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Bigger, Byrne E., Hannibal

Hildner, George J., Villa Ridge

McReynolds, Elizabeth, Jefferson City

Murphy, Francis E., Kansas City

Noah, W. L., Webster Groves

ONE NEW MEMBER

Alexander, W. W., Trenton

Ball, S. B., Kahoka

Barnes, Lakenan, Mexico

Biggs, Mrs. Mable P., Neosho

Coleman, George B., Columbia

Culmer, Frederic A., Fayette

Davis, Joe Ann, Nevada

Dickey, Harris B., Jefferson City

Dickson, Mrs. L. N., Arrow Rock

Dorris, E. P., Alton

Engel, Albert J., St. Louis

English, Mrs. Georgia E., Columbia

Gray, Chester H., Washington,
D. C.

Gray, Wayne W., Caruthersville

Grummann, H. R., University City

Hallock, E. O., Kansas City

Harvey, T. H., Marshall

Heavin, Hazel Dagley, Rolla

Henson, George T., Van Buren

Impey, David E., Houston

Journey, J. B., Nevada

Jurden, Guy E., St. Louis

Kennedy, W. J., St. Joseph

Kiefner, Chas. E., Perryville

Mauntel, Fred, Washington

Medicus, Mrs. B. L., Versailles

Page, Ralph, Sullivan

Peters, George L., Canton

Reardon, Wilson P., Caruthersville

Schultz, Gerard, Iberia

Shepherd, E. H., Eldon

Smith, Frederick M., Independence

Smith, Luther E., St. Louis

Sword, Wayne, Kirkwood

Thomas, Mrs. C. E., Mound City

Thurston, Mrs. M. F., Fulton

Tucker, C. C., Kansas City

Wagenfuehr, A., St. Louis

Wallace, E. J., St. Louis

Willis, Maynard C., Alva, Okla.

Williams, Roy D., Boonville

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

NOVEMBER 1940—JANUARY 1941

One hundred and sixty-two applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from November, 1940, to January, 1941, inclusive. The total of annual members as of January 31, 1941, is 2,725.

The new members are:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Adkins, Mrs. Mel, Gravois Mills | Donnelly, Phil M., Lebanon |
| Anniston High School, Anniston | Dougherty, James T., St. Louis |
| Ashley, Grace, St. Louis | Drummond, A. H., Trenton |
| Barden, F. W., Centralia | Duck, Joe, Neosho |
| Barker, Emerson N., Denver, Colo. | Duncan, Herb, Granite City, Ill. |
| Barrett, Rex P., Columbia | Eason, Charles A., Kansas City |
| Bates, Ferd, Liberty | East Prairie High School, East |
| Bear, J. L., St. Joseph | Prairie |
| Beckmann, H. E., St. Louis | Ellis Fischel State Cancer Hospital, |
| Berninghaus, Oscar E., Taos, N. M. | Columbia |
| Bertrand High School, Bertrand | Errett, H. E., Nevada |
| Bishop, Althea, Mexico | Fisher, Oscar B., University City |
| Boulcault, Marcel, St. Louis | Fleming, Robert N., Columbia |
| Bowling, C. C., Columbia | Folmer, Henri, Chicago, Ill. |
| Brown, Charles Hy, St. Louis | Frederick, J. V., Alva, Okla. |
| Brown, G. L., Hannibal | Freund, Arthur J., St. Louis |
| Burrowes, Arthur V., St. Joseph | Gates, A. D., St. Louis |
| Busch, Mrs. Mary Carroll, Wash- | Gellhorn, Mrs. George, St. Louis |
| ington | Gillam, Forrest T., Maryville |
| Byers, E. Scott, Tidioute, Pa. | Glenn, Edward A., Louisiana |
| Carroll, Michael, Jefferson City | Goetz, W. L., St. Joseph |
| Carson, J. H., Maryville | Green, W. H., Louisiana |
| Chambers, Joseph M., Nevada | Greenfield, Milton, Jr., St. Louis |
| Charleston High School, Charleston | Guinotte, James G., Kansas City |
| Charleston Public Library, Charles- | Gunn, Mrs. P. O., Huntsville |
| ton | Hallock, Mary M., Maryville, Tenn. |
| Cochran, Wm. Wallace, Washing- | Hall, James H., Columbia |
| ton, D. C. | Halpin, Josephine S., St. Louis |
| Conway, E. M., Wallingford, Conn. | Hanna, Paul A., Columbia |
| Cook, Howard, Jefferson City | Harris, Marcus, St. Louis |
| Cotton, T. W., Van Buren | Hobbs, Mrs. John W., Jefferson |
| Curby, John E., St. Louis | City |
| Dalton, Wm. Walter, St. Louis | Holliday, John H., St. Louis |
| Darrall, Mrs. A. G., Eldon | Hooker, Robert K., Springfield |
| Diggs, Watson, Arrow Rock | Hunt, Bernard C., Columbia |
| Dillman, Lucius M., Houston | Huntley, C. C., Steele |
| Dimitt, Frank C., Rocheport | |

- Independence Public Library, Independence
- Ingraham, E. V., St. Louis
- James, Coy Hilton, Cape Girardeau
- James, Guy E., Glasgow
- Jenkins, Wm. J., St. Louis
- Jennings, P. W., Canton
- Johnson, Robert H., Palmyra
- Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City
- Katterjohn, A. E., Wright City
- Kiefner, John, Perryville
- Kleppsattel, Orra, St. Louis
- Knighton, M. P., Hannibal
- Langen, Thomas A., St. Louis
- Larsson, Paul R., Winona
- Lawrence, Edith, Defiance
- Lee, Frank, St. Louis
- Leonard, Frank W., Columbia
- Long, Edward V., Bowling Green
- McCutcheon, Waldo, Holden
- McMullin, Lois, St. Louis
- Mahan, Mrs. Dulany, Hannibal
- Marshutz, Elmer P., Clayton
- Mileham, Richard, Kahoka
- Miller, Roy E., Hyattsville, Md.
- Minges, William L., St. Louis
- Mitchell, T. C., Jr., Jefferson City
- Morse, Hiram, St. Louis
- Murphy, Eugene P., S. J., St. Louis
- Nacy, Joe P., Jefferson City
- Nacy, Richard R., Jefferson City
- Niedermeyer, H. P., Columbia
- Norris, Arthur G., Fulton
- Oldham, C. Woodson, Webb City
- Papin, J. Vion, Ste. Genevieve
- Patton, W. W., Jefferson City
- Pearcy, E. E., St. Louis
- Pearson, Maybelle E., Slater
- Pendergast, Francis G., Kansas City
- Pendergast, Robert P., Kansas City
- Pepmiller, C. E., Thayer
- Pierce, David Austin, Kirksville
- Platt, John L., Columbia
- Porth, Clifford, Jefferson City
- Reardon, James A., St. Louis
- Rippey, John D., St. Louis
- Robb, Alma Gibson, Harlingen, Tex.
- Roberts, Mrs. Loyd S., Trenton
- Roever Club of Washington University, University City
- Rusk, Mrs. Howard, Clayton
- Ryan, John P., Kansas City
- Sappington, A. D., Columbia
- Scheufler, Edward L., Kansas City
- Schroeder, Mrs. A. W., Sullivan
- Schuler, R. B., Krakow
- Schwartz, Wilbur C., St. Louis
- Seckinger, Fred A., Kansas City
- Seelen, William E., New York City, N. Y.
- Seifert, Shirley, Kirkwood
- Semrad, C. A., St. Joseph
- Shaw, Charles, Clayton
- Shockley, Minnie, Alva, Okla.
- Sims, Lee T., Versailles
- Smith, Joseph Fielding, Salt Lake City, Utah
- Smith, Laurence A., Clayton
- Stead, W. H., St. Louis
- Stigall, Louis V., Jefferson City
- Storckman, Clem F., St. Louis
- Stueck, Frederick, St. Louis
- Sullivan, John B., Washington, D. C.
- Susanka, William, St. Louis
- Sutherland, John H., Kirkwood
- Swearingen, Orson H., Kansas City
- Talbert, Charles M., St. Louis
- Teasdale, Kenneth, St. Louis
- Thomas, Gladys, Kansas City
- Thomson, A. Cal., Waynesville
- Toomey, M. A., St. Louis
- Training School Library State Teachers College, Springfield
- Tucker, C. M., Columbia
- Turner, Pierce, Fayette
- Vahlkamp, Gustave, St. Louis
- Van Cleve, William M., Macon
- Vaughan, John C., University City
- Victor, William F., St. Louis
- Vineyard, James G., Kansas City

Wagner, George, St. Louis	Wheat, Mary H., St. Louis
Wahl, John B., St. Louis	Wilke, William, Washington
Webster College, Webster Groves	Willard, O. C. H., St. Louis
Werner, Charles H., St. Joseph	Williams, Forest, Moberly
West, George Hale, Kansas City	Winter, Hauser, Columbia

THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATION PROGRAM REVIEWED

One of the principal functions and duties of the State Historical Society of Missouri is the publication of unpublished records of the State. In 1920, the Society began the publication of some of the State's rarest documents which had practically been inaccessible to the public and which preserved in printed form have proved of untold value to the citizens of the State. The first step in this documentary publication work began with the editing and publishing of the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* in two volumes. This work, published as a centennial publication commemorating Missouri's statehood and admission to the union, is well edited and has been of inestimable service to Missouri scholars, jurists, and statemen.

During the period from 1923 to 1930, twelve volumes of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* were published. These volumes, covering the executive terms from 1820 to 1929, contain the messages, proclamations, and related documents of the State governors during the first 109 years of statehood, with a comprehensive biography for each governor.

A third documentary series, the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875*, was begun under the co-editorship of Dr. Isidor Loeb and Floyd C. Shoemaker during the 1929-1930 biennium. Volume VII of the series, numbering 450 printed pages, was released in February, 1941. Five additional volumes, yet to be published, will complete the series.

These twenty-one volumes of documentary publications comprise 10,851 printed pages and represent some of the most valuable of all records related to the history and development of the State government.

The Society's popular publication program, consisting of the weekly press service called "This Week in Missouri History" and the *Review*, is designed for the historical orientation of Missouri citizens and has a larger coverage than any similar program in the nation.

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY AND REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Robert Wilson of the Mexico Masonic lodge has given the papers which were taken from the Hardin college cornerstone to the Audrain county historical society. The papers include, according to Lakenan Barnes, president of the society, the deed by which Charles H. Hardin and Mary B. Hardin conveyed the land to the college, the subscription list of donors to the college, and other interesting items.

The Cape Girardeau county historical society met November 25, 1940, at Cape Girardeau in a joint session with the federation of southeast Missouri historical societies. During the business session, officers of the Cape Girardeau society were elected as follows: John G. Putz of Jackson, president; Mrs. O. E. Schoembs, first vice-president; Mrs. D. C. Hope, second vice-president; Mrs. C. L. Grant, secretary; Judge Joe L. Moore, treasurer. Officers of the federation of southeast Missouri historical societies, elected at the meeting, were: Mrs. J. W. Andrews of Fredericktown, president; John G. Putz of Jackson, secretary-treasurer; Senator Paul Jones of Kennett, first vice-president; C. C. Oliver of Bloomfield, second vice-president; Jule Rozier of St. Mary's, third vice-president; and the Reverend C. H. Morton of Potosi, fourth vice-president. Stephen B. Hunter was named chairman of a committee to investigate the project of restoring Fort A, a Civil war fortress in Cape Girardeau.

Captain Herbert M. Penick, member of the English department of Kemper military school at Boonville, spoke on "Place Names in Cooper and Howard Counties" at the regular bimonthly meeting of the historical society of Howard and Cooper counties on November 13, 1940, at Glasgow. Musical numbers were presented by students of the Glasgow schools

under the supervision of C. A. Wells. The meeting of the society which was scheduled for January 15, 1941, was postponed.

James Anderson, historian of the Native Sons of Kansas City, was the guest speaker at the meeting of the Jackson county historical society on January 27, 1941, at Independence. Mr. Anderson discussed the progress made on the project to restore Fort Osage, near Sibley, in Jackson county. During the business meeting, committees were appointed to direct the following projects and divisions of the society's work: membership, programs, preserving and marking historic sites and graves, establishing a county museum, and preparing biographies of the early settlers of the county. Major Nat D. Jackson, president, presided at the meeting. The society has a membership of 155, without having made a special membership campaign.

The annual meeting of the Johnson county historical society was held November 22, 1940, at Holden. Professor R. F. Wood of Warrensburg, the retiring president of the society, presided and outlined the purposes of the organization. T. J. Halsey of Holden spoke on "The History of Holden College." Others who took part on the program were Brad Harmon of Holden, the new president of the society, George W. Diemer, president of Warrensburg state teachers college, and Dr. H. A. Phillips. Officers of the society were elected at a business meeting conducted in Warrensburg on November 17. Those chosen to serve were: Brad Harmon of Holden, president; W. E. Suddath, vice-president; Miss Margaret Culp, secretary; C. E. Schwensen, treasurer; and J. L. Ferguson, curator of the archives.

The constitution of the Mississippi county historical association was adopted at a special meeting on October 8, 1940. The association, which meets on the fourth Friday of each month, has twenty-two charter members. At the meeting on November 29, the association voted to donate memberships in the State Historical Society of Missouri to the Charleston,

East Prairie, Bertrand, and Anniston high schools and the Charleston public library. These institutions will receive the *Missouri Historical Review*.

Officers of the Perry county historical society, elected at the annual meeting on May 19, 1940, are: Dr. E. M. Lottes, president; E. R. Mueller, vice-president; H. Fiehler, secretary and treasurer; the Reverend A. Vogel and the Reverend W. Hafner, members of the executive committee.

Officers of the Phelps county historical society were re-elected at the second annual banquet which took place November 11, 1940, at Rolla. The officers are: Dr. E. A. Stricker of St. James, president; Mrs. Perry Elder of Newburg, vice-president; Dr. C. V. Mann of Rolla, secretary; Mrs. S. H. Lloyd of Rolla, treasurer; Dr. C. H. Fulton and Miss Mattie Freeman of Rolla, directors. Lieutenant Colonel L. C. Gordon, commander of the R. O. T. C. at the Missouri school of mines and metallurgy, was the principal speaker. A pageant entitled "What's in a Name?" was presented. The pageant was written by Mrs. Nadine Sease of the English department of the school of mines and depicted the naming of Rolla. A review of the pageant appears in the *Rolla Herald* of November 14, 1940.

B. Cordell Stevens, president of the St. Louis county historical society, presented an interesting talk on "Old Roads, Pioneer Settlers, and Early Communities of St. Louis County" at the meeting of the society December 9, 1940, in the Clayton public library. Julius T. Muench, a vice-president of the society, presided and the secretary, Mrs. Vivian S. Meier, reported that, although the society was only one year old, it had a membership of 144. E. L. Preston of the State highway department, H. B. Dickey of the State highway planning survey, and Stratford Lee Morton made brief talks. The Reverend Francis J. Yealy, S. J., of St. Stanislaus seminary at Florissant was the guest speaker at the meeting on January 20, 1941. He spoke on "Old Florissant and the Florissant Valley." During the business session, B. Cordell Stevens was

re-elected president, Boyle O. Rodes was re-elected treasurer, and Stratford Lee Morton was renamed as a trustee of the society for a three-year term. The society endorsed the movement to preserve the old Ernest Marshall home, a Manchester landmark. Four vice-presidents named by the board of trustees were Daniel R. Bissell, Mrs. Joseph B. Greensfelder, Julius T. Muench, and Senator Clarence L. Shotwell. Attorney Glenn Mohler was reappointed counselor.

Miss Julie Koch of Roosevelt high school in St. Louis read a paper on "Notes from the Diary of Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of the Episcopal Church, 1838" at the meeting of the historical association of greater St. Louis on November 15, 1940, in the Jefferson memorial building. Professor Carl E. Schneider of Eden theological seminary led the discussion of the paper. Professor Donald McFayden of Washington university also read a paper on "Democracy at Athens" and the Reverend Raymond Corrigan, S. J., of St. Louis university led the discussion.

Professor Albert Christ-Janer, head of the art department of Stephens college in Columbia, spoke on "Bingham and His Pictures" at the regular quarterly meeting of the Saline county historical society on January 21, 1941, at Marshall. The lecture was illustrated with slides of Bingham's sketches and paintings. Christ-Janer's biography, *George Caleb Bingham of Missouri*, was published in 1940.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN ST. LOUIS HEARS MRS. PORTER

Mrs. Clyde H. Porter of Kansas City spoke on the subject "The West That Was" at the meeting of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis on November 29, 1940, at the Jefferson memorial building. Mrs. Porter's address, illustrated with colored slides, was based on the western travels of the English hunter, Sir William Drummond Stuart, and the American artist, Alfred Miller, in 1837 and 1838.

Charles W. Godefroy was scheduled to speak on the subject "North^{of} North^{of} America" at the meeting of the society on January 31, 1941.

COUNTIES MARK CENTENNIALS

G. C. Sparks was named as permanent chairman of the executive committee in charge of planning the Andrew county centennial celebration at a meeting December 13, 1940, in Savannah. Four members of the executive board were to be chosen by a nominating committee composed of R. S. Mickey, J. W. Roberts, and Miss Ina Wachtel.

Dade county will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of its organization with a homecoming festival some time during the summer months. The formative act, approved January 29, 1831, and a brief historical sketch of the county appear in the *Greenfield Vedette* of January 30, 1941.

Commemorating the centennial anniversary of Grundy county, the *Trenton Republican-Times* published a brief history of the county on January 30, 1941. The article is illustrated with a facsimile of the law which created the county and a photograph of Jewett Norris, the first presiding judge of the county.

A brief history of Shannon county, which celebrated its centennial anniversary on January 29, 1941, appears in the *Eminence Current Wave* of January 23, 1941. The sketch was based on the history of the county compiled under the works progress administration.

PROGRESS ON MOVE TO RESTORE FORT OSAGE

The Jackson county court, meeting at Independence on November 22, 1940, ordered \$10,000 to be set aside in the new budget for the acquisition and purchase of the site of Fort Osage. At the meeting on January 29, 1941, the court accepted an option to purchase for \$10,000 the land north of Sibley, Missouri, which was once occupied by Fort Osage. The plan to restore the fort is sponsored by the Native Sons of Kansas City, the Jackson county historical society, the Patriots and Pioneers society, and the Daughters of the American revolution.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI ACQUIRES WESTERN
AMERICANA COLLECTION

The library of the University of Missouri at Columbia has recently acquired a collection of 900 volumes of western Americana, including chiefly early travel narratives, books on the American Indian, and contemporary accounts of life among the western pioneers during the nineteenth century. Included in the collection are such rare titles as Imlay's *Topographical Description of the Western Territory in North America* (1793); Pike's *Exploratory Travels Through The Western Territories of North America* (1811); Linforth's *A Route From Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (1855); Udell's *Incidents of Travel to California Across the Great Plains* (1856); McClung's *Sketches of Western Adventures* (1832); and McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (three volumes, elephant folio edition, 1837-44).

HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY ISSUES PROGRESS REPORT

The Missouri historical records survey division of professional and service projects of the works progress administration issued eight publications during the period from August to December, 1940, according to a report submitted on January 27, 1941, by A. Loyd Collins, State supervisor. The list includes: *Inventory of the County Archives of Missouri, Henry County*; reprint of *Historical Sketch of Henry County, Missouri*; *Bethel Church Book, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Bethel Church 1806-1867*; reprint of *Bethel Church Minutes*; *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States—Missouri*; *Minutes of the St. Louis Board of Trustees, 1808-1809*; *Inventory of the Church Archives of Missouri, Baptist Bodies—Tebo Baptist Association* (Henry, Benton, and Pettis counties); and *Inventory of the County Archives of Missouri, Dallas County*.

ACQUISITIONS

Henry C. Thompson of Bonne Terre, a trustee of the Society, presented an oil painting of Mark Twain to the Society. He previously presented paintings of Senator Thomas Hart

Benton, Senator Lewis F. Linn, and Daniel Boone. Through the courtesy of Mr. Thompson, the St. Joseph lead company donated nine photographs of lead mining operations in south-east Missouri for the Society's collections.

A hand bill advertising a "gift enterprise" for the Calhoun, Missouri, public schools in 1873 has been presented to the Society by C. E. Berry of Modesto, California. The enterprise, a lottery, offered \$100,000 in prizes to be awarded on October 6, 1873.

Through the courtesy of E. L. Pigg of Jefferson City, Fred C. Fancher of Missouri City donated two cashbooks of drug stores conducted during the 1860s and 1870s in St. Louis and Missouri City.

William J. Seever of Webster Groves presented the record book of the organization which was in charge of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Louisiana purchase at St. Louis in 1904. The book contains the minutes of meetings from the date of organization on June 2, 1898, to February 19, 1899, which were kept by Mr. Seever, the secretary. Mr. Seever also donated for the Society's photograph collection a picture made in 1903 during the exploration of Jacobs Cavern by Dr. Warren K. Moorehead and Mr. Seever. The Society has also received from Mr. Seever an interesting article on a mill, called "Slow-Boy," in Reynolds county.

Thirty-eight negatives of Mississippi and Missouri river steamboats and river scenes were loaned to the Society by J. H. Long of Jefferson City, and prints have been made of these for the Society's photograph file. Mr. Long also donated one steamboat print.

The Society received from the Honorable Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles photostatic copies of two resolutions drawn up by grand jurors of the St. Charles district in November, 1811.

Judge N. T. Gentry of Columbia donated to the Society an unusual scrapbook which contains printed programs of the Athenaeum society of the University of Missouri for the years 1869, 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, and 1889. The scrapbook also contains a program of the eightieth annual banquet of the society which was held in 1921.

The Society added a photostatic copy of the song "My Child" by Governor Thomas T. Crittenden to its collections through the courtesy of Mrs. Cora K. Hurt of New Franklin, Missouri. The ballad was dedicated to Governor Crittenden's wife, Carrie W. Crittenden, in memory of their 9-year-old daughter who died on December 20, 1882. The music was written by Milton Wellings and the song was published at St. Louis in 1883.

The Society received from Paul Clarkson of the *Hannibal Courier-Post* an illustrated map of Hannibal, the boyhood home of Mark Twain. The map was drawn by John Fitzgerald and copyrighted in 1940 by John Winkler and Paul Clarkson. Mark Twain's home, Becky Thatcher's home, the Tom Sawyer and Huckelberry Finn statute, the Mark Twain lighthouse on Cardiff hill, the Mark Twain memorial bridge, the Mark Twain statute in Riverview park, Lovers Leap, and the Mark Twain park are points of interest designated on the map. Sketches of Mark Twain, the two statues, the boyhood home, and the Mark Twain cave are included on the map.

B. Cordell Stevens, president of the St. Louis county historical society, donated to the Society a blue print of a hydrographical and topographical survey made of the harbor of St. Louis in October and November, 1843.

A composite map of the Kaskaskia-Ste. Genevieve vicinity, drawn from United States land office surveys and other early sources, has been deposited with the Society by the national park service. The map, prepared under the supervision of Charles E. Peterson, senior landscape architect for the Jef-

erson national expansion memorial in St. Louis, shows the locations of the two colonial settlements of the eighteenth century.

The Society obtained from the United States war department engineer's office in Kansas City 143 sheets of reproductions of Missouri river maps, covering the section of the river from the Iowa state line and the mouth of the river. The maps were drawn from official surveys made in 1892, 1893, 1920, 1922, and 1923, and the aerial survey of 1930.

The Society has had sixty-two of its rare maps, one dating as early as 1720, repaired, mounted on linen, and made more accessible for public use.

ANNIVERSARIES

The Fulton Masonic lodge No. 48 will observe the one hundredth anniversary of its founding on September 25, 1941. Ovid Bell, past master of the lodge, is general chairman of the centennial committee. Members of the advisory committee are J. R. Baker, Elmer C. Henderson, Clyde C. Herring, and C. R. Boyd.—From the *Fulton Daily Sun-Gazette*, December 28, 1940.

The Christian church at Fayette, Missouri, observed its centennial anniversary on Sunday, January 5, 1941. The pastor, the Reverend Frank M. Wright, reviewed the church's history in the anniversary sermon.—From the *Fayette Democrat-Leader*, January 3, 1941.

The Calvary Baptist church in Kansas City observed its centennial anniversary on December 15, 1940. The pastor, the Reverend W. Morris Ford, preached the centennial sermon. A brief history of the church, compiled by Frank C. Wornall, was published in a souvenir program.

The La Plata Baptist church observed its centennial anniversary on Sunday, December 1, 1940. It was the second

Baptist church organized in Macon county. A brief historical sketch of the church appears in the *Kirksville Daily Express* of November 29, 1940.

An historical pageant was presented November 15, 1940, as a feature of the centennial observance of the First Baptist church in Moberly. The program commemorating the anniversary closed with special services on Sunday, November 17, 1940.

Governor Lloyd C. Stark and Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, Negro educator of Atlanta, were the principal speakers at the program presented January 12, 1941, at Lincoln university in Jefferson City in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the institution.

The First Congregational church of Kansas City observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding with a three-day program on January 5, 6, and 7, 1941. William E. Sweet of Denver, former governor of Colorado and moderator of the Congregational and Christian churches, was the principal speaker for the anniversary programs. A brief sketch of the church appears in the *Kansas City Times* of January 6, 1941.

The First Congregational church of Webster Groves commemorated its seventy-fifth anniversary with special services during the week ending February 2, 1941. "Through the Portals of Life," a pageant of the historical events in the life of the church, featured the anniversary observance.

The fiftieth anniversary of the purchase of the present site of the free public library in Hannibal, Missouri, was observed on December 3, 1940. Judge Berryman Henwood and Judge Charles B. Davis of St. Louis made the anniversary addresses. Judge B. E. Bigger, Mrs. H. L. Banks, and Mrs. F. T. Hodgdon were members of the committee in charge of

compiling the history of the library. The library history began with the organization in 1844 of the Hannibal library institute. The city voted a five mill tax for support of the library on May 6, 1889; the present site was acquired on December 2, 1890; and the John H. Garth memorial library building was dedicated on February 15, 1902.—From the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, December 4, 1940.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

The Edgar White memorial foundation was organized by a committee of the Northeast Missouri press association on November 12, 1940, at Macon. The foundation fixed its goal at \$1,000 for the memorial, to be erected in Macon, in honor of Edgar White, widely read Missouri journalist. More than one-fourth of the amount has already been pledged. Members of the committee are Floyd C. Shoemaker of Columbia who is serving as chairman, F. M. Sagaser of Macon who is serving as secretary, H. S. Carroll of Lentner who is treasurer, Senator Frank Briggs of Macon, H. J. Blanton of Paris, W. C. Hewitt of Shelbyville, and James Todd of Moberly.

A plaque honoring Henry Giessenbier, Jr., who founded the junior chamber of commerce movement in St. Louis in 1915, was unveiled as a part of the anniversary observance on November 17, 1940. The marker was presented to the City of St. Louis by H. W. Carver, representing the Atlantic and Pacific tea company. It was accepted by Hubert W. Humpert, representing the young men's division of the St. Louis chamber of commerce, and Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann, representing the city. In November, 1940, the young men's division of the chamber of commerce erected four metal shield markers in the area adjacent to the Jefferson national expansion memorial and two markers within the area. The group also erected four replacements for markers that had been removed. A review of the work carried on by the young men's division in marking the historic sites in St. Louis appears in the *St. Louis Daily Record* of December 31, 1940.

The national society of the Daughters of the American Colonists in Missouri and the William Greenway chapter in Jefferson City dedicated the marker which they had erected on the site of Missouri's executive mansions in Jefferson City on January 8, 1941. Mrs. Houck McHenry, regent of the Jefferson City chapter, was in charge of the dedication program and the marker was unveiled by James Foster McHenry and Dickie Lauf. Others who took part in the exercises were Mrs. Lloyd C. Stark of Jefferson City, Mrs. Marshall Rust of Pilot Grove, Mrs. W. W. Botts of Mexico, Mrs. Edward T. Smith and Mrs. William Greenhalgh of St. Louis, and Mrs. Boyd F. Carroll.

The Kansas City junior chamber of commerce has launched a program of marking historic sites in the city and of co-operating in marking sites in neighboring communities. A map of Kansas City is being prepared which will serve as a guide for the project. The organization plans to erect three types of markers: temporary markers, permanent bronze plaques, and more expensive monuments.

A tablet in memory of Joseph R. Groom, for twenty-five years the city hall reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was unveiled at the St. Louis city hall on December 18, 1940. Mr. Groom died February 9, 1940.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 19, 1940.

The Frank Hughes memorial library building was dedicated November 19, 1940, at Liberty, Missouri. Dedicatory addresses were made by Dr. H. G. Barr and James S. Simrall. The late Mr. Hughes provided \$57,000 for the erection and maintenance of the public library building.

NOTES

Colonel J. B. Barnes of Boonville has been awarded the distinguished service medal of West Virginia. The medal was scheduled to be presented January 4, 1941, in the chamber of the house of delegates at Charleston. However,

Colonel Barnes was unable to return to his native state for the presentation.—From the *Boonville Advertiser*, January 3, 1941.

The history of the Indian Creek Baptist church in Pike county, which was compiled by J. H. Motley and read at the eighty-ninth anniversary service on September 29, 1940, appears in the *Bowling Green Times* of January 16, 1941.

L. L. Dimmitt, publisher of the *Canton Record*, has purchased the *Canton Press-News* and consolidated the two papers as the *Canton Press-News and the Canton Record*. The merger was announced in the issue of January 2, 1941. The *Canton Press* which was established in 1862 by J. W. Barrett and the *News* which was established in 1879 by Harry Chinn and the two papers were consolidated in November, 1928, by Thomas N. Moore and Everett Moore. C. W. Stinson established the *Canton Record* in October, 1929.

Interesting historical information is contained in the article "Tornado Struck Cape 90 Years Ago; Worst in City's History," which appears in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian* of November 27, 1940.

An illustrated article, "Events of a Year in Girardeau," featured the annual achievement edition of the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian*, issued December 31, 1940.

Edward D. Hays of Washington, D. C., former representative of the fourteenth congressional district of Missouri, is the author of an article entitled "Louis Lorimier Was Not First White Resident of Cape District," which appears in the Cape Girardeau *Southeast Missourian* of January 16, 1941. The article names George Lail as the first white resident in the district and includes a sketch of his life and family. Hays is writing a history of the life of Louis Lorimier.

A sand blotter over 125 years old, a prescription file book for 1874, and other interesting relics were discovered when a drug store at Carrollton, Missouri, which had been established in 1862, was remodeled recently. An illustrated article, describing the drug store, appears in the Carrollton *Republican-Record* of January 10, 1941.

The Caruthersville *Democrat-Argus* issued a "Booster Edition" on November 15, 1940, which reviews recent developments in Pemiscot county and southeast Missouri.

A brief historical sketch of the Westminster Presbyterian church in Charleston appears in the Charleston *Enterprise-Courier* of November 21, 1940.

An illustrated article entitled "A River Pilot Named Twain Once Said It Might Come to Pass—and So It Has" by Harry Bolser, which was published in the *Louisville Courier Journal* is reprinted in the Charleston *Enterprise-Courier* of January 23, 1941. The article describes Wolf Island, a part of Kentucky that now touches Missouri, and confirms Twain's observation: "You might go to sleep in Kentucky and wake up in Missouri."

Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, talked on the Society and the relationship existing between the journalist and the historian at a meeting of the Missouri University chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, honorary journalism fraternity, February 18, 1941. Mr. Shoemaker spoke on February 20, 1941, before the Rotary club at Glasgow on some of the outstanding features of Glasgow, the contributions made by its citizens to the State Historical Society of Missouri, and also the work of the Society.

A feature article entitled "The Colonel's Phrase Still Lives," which appears in the *Columbia Missourian* of January 9, 1941, describes the coinage of the motto "I'm from Missouri; you've got to show-me" by W. D. Vandiver.

Dr. James Madison Wood, president of Stephens college at Columbia, was the principal speaker at a dinner sponsored by the central Missouri region of the Travel in Missouri association in Columbia on November 29, 1940. Lieutenant Governor Frank G. Harris presided as master of ceremonies and other talks were made by Hugh Stephens of Jefferson City and Ellsworth Green, Jr., of Sedalia. Moreland Brown of Jefferson City, president of the Travel in Missouri group, also took part in the program and meeting.—From the *Columbia Daily Tribune*, November 30, 1940.

Thirty-six members of the tourist travel committee of the Missouri State chamber of commerce considered promotional plans to encourage travel in the State at a meeting in Columbia on December 6, 1940. Colonel R. A. Johnston of Boonville, chairman of the committee, presided. The committee discussed possibilities of obtaining an automobile license plate and pictorial travel stamps to advertise the State and among other projects considered establishing markers for historic and interesting sites in Missouri.

The article, "Merry-Making in Missouri in the Old Days," by Monas N. Squires is reprinted in the Crystal City-Festus *Jefferson County Press* of December 24, 1940, from the *Missouri Historical Review* of January, 1934.

Valuable articles dealing with Civil war episodes in southeast Missouri have appeared recently in the "County Historian" column, conducted by Henry C. Thompson in the Fredericktown *Democrat-News*.

An interesting biographical sketch of H. D. Benedict, pioneer telegraph builder, appears in the Fredericktown *Democrat-News* of November 7, 1940. Mr. Benedict, a former mayor of Fredericktown, died November 1, 1940, at the age of 97.

The column "Madison County History" conducted by Mrs. J. W. Andrews in the Fredericktown *Madison County Press* has included a number of interesting biographical sketches in recent issues.

Construction plans for the new town of Greenville, which will supplant the present site in the Wappapello dam basin of the southeast Missouri flood control area, are described in the *Greenville Sun* of December 26, 1940.

The series of articles on "Early Well-known Residents of Caldwell County" by Bertha Booth continues to appear in the *Hamilton Advocate-Hamiltonian*.

Outstanding features in the new-year edition of the *Hannibal Courier-Post* issued January 1, 1941, included a compilation of local happenings during 1940, vital statistics for the year, and feature articles on many of the city's institutions. The article, "First Marriage License Issued in 1827; Total Near 37,000," contains valuable information.

A valuable historical article under the heading "Election Officials in 1867 Took 'Oath of Loyalty'" appears in the Harrisonville *Cass County Democrat* of December 19, 1940. The poll list of 216 names is published in the article.

L. T. Dryden, a former resident of Independence, Missouri, provided President Franklin D. Roosevelt with the phrase "Martin, Barton, and Fish" which he used in the presidential campaign of 1940, according to a feature article in the *Independence Examiner* of November 11, 1940.

An essay on "Missouri's Contribution to the Confederacy" by Frank Adams of Atherton, Missouri, appears in the *Independence Examiner* of November 15, 1940. Adams, an Independence high school student, received a \$15 prize for the essay in a contest sponsored by the Missouri division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

An interesting incident of pre-Civil war days in Jackson county is related in the article "A Betrayal by Quantrell Told" by Miss Nell Lewis of Lee's Summit, Missouri, which appears in the *Independence Examiner* of January 31, 1941. The article will be included in the "Book of Reminiscences" which is being compiled by Mrs. J. H. Hardin, historian of the Independence chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This article is reprinted in the *Pleasant Hill Times*, February 21, 1941.

Three feature articles of historic interest were published on the editorial page of the *Kansas City Star* during the month of November, 1940. They were: "American Royal, Born in a Tent Here 42 Years Ago, Has Colorful History" by John W. Colt (November 9); "Loose Park, Historic Site, Is Being Improved" by R. K. K. (November 15); and "Missouri Election Contest of 1909 May Affect 1940 Governorship Race" (November 22).

The work of Harriet Hosmer, who achieved recognition in Missouri in 1868 as the designer of the Thomas Hart Benton statue in St. Louis is described in an article which appears in the *Kansas City Star* of December 1, 1940.

Miss Mary Benton of Seattle, Washington, a great grand-niece of Missouri's Senator Thomas Hart Benton, is completing a biography that is provisionally titled "Old Bullion: Thomas Hart Benton and the American Frontier." Miss Benton, a member of the English department of the University of Washington, was granted one of the two literary fellowships offered in the sixth annual Houghton Mifflin competition.—From the *Kansas City Star*, December 28, 1940.

The work of George Van Millett, Kansas City artist, who has painted portraits and Jackson county scenes for the past fifty years is described in the *Kansas City Star* of December 15, 1940.

The work being performed by Donald Marr Nelson, native of Hannibal, Missouri, as co-ordinator for defense purchasing under the national defense advisory commission is described by Jonathan Mitchell in the *New Republic* of December 16, 1940. A biographical sketch of Mr. Nelson by Theodore M. O'Leary appears in the *Kansas City Star* of January 6, 1941.

"Building Ft. Leonard Wood Brings a Mighty Boom to the Ozarks" is the title of an illustrated feature article which appears in the *Kansas City Star* of February 9, 1941.

Historical feature articles which appear on the editorial page of recent issues of the *Kansas City Times* include: "Missouri Played Conspicuous Part in Grant's Fight for Third Term" by James K. Hutsell (November 5, 1940); "When England's Anthony Trollope Visited Army Camp at Rolla, Mo." (November 25, 1940); "A Century of Baptist Worship Represented by Calvary Church" by E. R. Schaufler (January 3, 1941); "Jim Bridger's Grave Marker Guarded by a Stranger for Thirty-six Years" by Schaufler (January 10); "A Brave Mother's Story of Terror in War Days on Missouri Border" by S. M. Barrett (January 21); "Death of Old Order in Cotton Country Is Signaled by Machines" by M. E. Rosenzweig (January 27); "A Forgotten Center of Learning Recalled by a County Centennial" by Gordon Hudelson (January 29); and "The Famous Theater That Brought Art to Pioneer River Town Here" by J. P. G. (February 6).

Dr. Kate L. Gregg of Lindenwood college at St. Charles reviewed the life of George Champlin Sibley at the meeting of the Lafayette-Lexington chapter of the Daughters of the American revolution in Lexington on November, 15, 1940. A sketch of her address appears in the *Lexington Advertiser-News* of November 18, 1940.

"Birmingham, Clay County, Mo., 1889" is the subject of an article by H. H. King which appears in the *Liberty Chronicle* of January 23, 1941.

Mrs. Robert S. Withers, president of the Clay county Missouri historical society, spoke on the subject "Clay County from the Viewpoint of the Historical Research Worker and Writer" over radio station WHB in Kansas City on Saturday morning, February 1, 1941. Mrs. Withers appeared as the guest speaker on the "Know Your State" program which is presented on the first Saturday of each month. Mrs. Carl G. Jackson conducts the program as a project of the Liberty branch of the national league of American pen women.—From *Liberty Chronicle*, January 30, 1941.

Interesting editorial comment on John W. Reid and his Saline county soldiers who participated in the Mexican war appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of December 26, 1940.

The first annual meeting of the friends of Missouri writers was held in Marshall, Missouri, on November 2, 1940. Officers of the organization are Miss Ethel Lyon, head of the English department at Park college, president; Dr. Grace Thomas, head of the English department of Missouri Valley college, vice-president; Mrs. Beth Relafeld of Park college, secretary; Mrs. G. W. Derfler, secretary.—From the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News*, November 5, 1940.

Masonry's early history in Marshall is reviewed by F. C. Barnhill in a news article which appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of December 2, 1940.

A review of the archaeological investigations which have been conducted in Saline county by Professor Jesse Wrench and Dr. Brewton Berry of the University of Missouri and their assistants, Carl Chapman and John Mack, appears in the Marshall *Daily Democrat-News* of January 30, 1941. Pictures of the investigations appear in the issue of February 4, 1941.

Mrs. Beatrix Winn Ford is the author of an historical sketch of Maryville which appears in the "Old Times Edition"

of the *Maryville Daily Forum* issued January 18, 1941. The article, which is illustrated, is entitled "100 Years Ago Colonel Prather Built Home Here."

Charles McCrary, former resident of Gallatin, Missouri, has constructed in Wyoming a suspension bridge by using scrap iron for material and a post-card picture of the Brooklyn suspension bridge for a blueprint. The story of his achievement, written by John Patric, appeared originally in the *Christian Science Monitor* and is reprinted in the *Maryville Daily Forum* for February 8, 1941.

Former staff members of the *Mexico Evening Ledger* gathered in Mexico on November 22, 1940, and organized an alumni club. Mary Margaret McBride, native of Monroe county, who has gained fame as a journalist and radio commentator was the honored guest. In recognition of the event, Governor Lloyd C. Stark proclaimed November 22 as "Mary Margaret McBride Day." The *Ledger* issued an alumni edition which contained an interesting history of the paper and a photograph of its founder, John B. Williams. Williams founded the paper in 1857 as the *Missouri Weekly Ledger*. Colonel R. M. White bought the paper in 1876 and members of his family have continued its publication.

A brief sketch of the rapid growth and the activities of the Moberly Community Center appears in the *Moberly Monitor-Index* for February 8, 1941.

An interesting sketch of the Henry Hamilton Howell family appears in the *Nevada Daily Mail* of February 3, 1941. Mr. Howell died January 30, 1941, at the age of 89 years. A native of St. Charles county, he was one of the pioneer settlers of Vernon county.

An old cedar cabin which figured prominently in the early history of Wayne county will be removed during the construction of a new bridge across the St. Francis river near Greenville. An interesting article on the historical signifi-

cance of this cabin appears in the Poplar Bluff *Daily American Republic* for February 7, 1941.

The *Princeton Post* on January 9, 1941, resumed the publication of the series "Mercer County Impressions" by Frederick W. Steckman.

"Mercer County's Bohemians Write Romantic Chapter in History of North Missouri" is the title of an interesting article by Herbert F. McDougal which appears in the *Princeton Telegraph* of December 26, 1940.

A schedule for future articles in the series "Ray County Chapters" by Jewell Mayes appears in the *Richmond Missourian* of January 23, 1941. The articles by Mr. Mayes, which are published regularly in the *Missourian*, contain much valuable information on Ray county history.

Fort Leonard Wood is the name given to the seventh corps area headquarters of the United States army, now under construction in south central Missouri near Rolla. The fort will be the permanent home of the sixth division of the U. S. army and will accommodate from 17,500 to 22,000 men in peace time and about 37,000 men during emergency periods. —From the *Rolla Herald*, January 2 and 23, 1941.

"Some Rolla Civil War History," compiled by Dr. Clair V. Mann, appears in the *Rolla Herald* of November 7, 1940.

The removal of the United States army headquarters to St. Louis in 1874 by General William T. Sherman is described by Preston Van Cheek in an article which appears in the *St. Charles Banner-News* of January 9, 1941. General Sherman moved the army headquarters to St. Louis and operated there two years because of disagreements with William Worth Belknap, secretary of war.

A new series of "Sagas of Old Mizzou" by Harry Norman is appearing in the *Ste. Genevieve Herald*.

Brief biographies and pictures of six Missouri governors from northwest Missouri are presented in the article entitled "Platte Purchase District Gives State Governors" by Howard I. McKee which appears in the *St. Joseph News-Press* of November 17, 1940.

The first of a series of articles on the postal history of the trans-Mississippi region by Emerson N. Barker of Denver, Colorado, appears in the December 21, 1940, issue of the *Stamp Review*, a philatelic magazine published weekly at St. Joseph, Missouri.

The fiftieth anniversary edition of the *St. Louis Daily Record* issued on October 16, 1940, contains sections on the history of the bench and bar, real estate and construction development, finance and insurance, and business and industry of St. Louis.

The work of Chester Harding and other early painters is described in the article "Interesting Portraits of Early St. Louis Put on Exhibition" by Harry R. Burke which appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of December 1, 1940.

Governor-elect Forrest C. Donnell appointed a legislative commission to study departmental re-organization plans for the State government. Senator George A. Rozier of Perryville is chairman of the commission and the other members are Senators Ray Mabey of Unionville, D. Raymond Carter of Seymour, C. A. McColl of Westboro, Allen McReynolds of Carthage, Phil M. Donnelly of Lebanon, Michael Kinney of St. Louis, and Bernard L. Glover of Kansas City, and Representatives Howard Elliott of St. Louis county, O. B. Whitaker of Hickory county, William Barton of Montgomery county, Frank Lowry of Cape Girardeau county, William B. Weakley of Pike county, E. R. Caldwell of Ralls

county, Morris E. Osburn of Shelby county, and Robert L. Ewing of Vernon county.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 6, 1940.

Three articles of historic interest appear in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of December 25, 1940. They are entitled "Census of Missouri 188 Years Ago Showed 23 Persons in State," "Old House on Easton Links Current St. Louis with Past," and "A Glimpse of First Christmas in St. Louis 175 Years Ago."

Photographs of the communities of Hamburg, Howell, and Toonerville in St. Charles county appear in the roto-gravure section of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of February 2, 1941. The communities are being evacuated to make way for a \$20,000,000 munitions plant. In the issue of February 9, the section contains photographs of the Ozark communities of Bloodland, Palace, Tribune, and Cookville which are being evacuated for Fort Leonard Wood.

A biographical sketch of Dr. Denton Snider appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of January 5, 1941.

The St. Louis award for 1940 was bestowed on James L. Ford, Jr., chairman of the smoke elimination committee. Ford also served as chairman of the united charities campaign in 1939. The award, amounting to \$1,000, was used by Ford to buy smokeless coal for needy St. Louisans.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 11, 1940.

The article "New Illustrations for 'Tom Sawyer' and 'Huck Finn'" by Irving Dilliard, which appears in the roto-gravure section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of November 17, 1940, describes the art work of Norman Rockwell for new editions of the famous books by Mark Twain. The article is illustrated by eight reproductions of the artist's work.

A ruling by the department of the interior's board on geographical names has fixed the spelling of Missouri's highest

peak as "Taum Sauk." Long a controversial subject, the name has been spelled *Taum*, *Tom*, *Taun*, *Ton*, and *Tam*; *Sauk*, *Suck*, and *Saulk*.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 8, 1940.

An article based on the study of packet wrecks on the Missouri river by Dr. E. B. Trail of Berger appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of December 25, 1940.

A description of an historic house at Bowling Green, erected by John Walter Basye in 1829, appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of December 26, 1940. A similar article is found in the *Kansas City Star*, February 23, 1941.

Dr. Carl Ortwin Sauer, native of Warrenton, Missouri, has been awarded the Charles P. Daly medal for 1940 by the American geographical society. Dr. Sauer, head of the geography department at the University of California, is an authority on land classification and utilization.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 6, 1941.

Captain Roll Raynor of Columbia, retired adjutant of Missouri's 128th field artillery regiment, national guard, was presented with the meritorious service medal of Missouri on January 6, 1941. Captain Raynor is the third soldier to whom the medal has been awarded, the other two being Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh and General Malin Craig, former army chief of staff.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 7, 1941.

An interesting review of *Mark Twain in Eruption* by Bernard DeVoto appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of January 13, 1941.

The editorial "The Eagle Remembered," which appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of January 19, 1941, recalls that John Peter Altgeld, German immigrant who became governor of Illinois, worked on a farm and taught school in Missouri in his youth.

The award of the 1941 Willard Gibbs medal to Professor Edward A. Doisy of St. Louis university medical school has been announced by the Chicago section of the American chemical society. Earlier recipients of the award, which was set up in 1911 by William A. Converse in honor of Josiah Willard Gibbs, professor of mathematical physics at Yale university, 1871 to 1908, have been Madame Marie Curie of France, co-discoverer of radium; Svante August Arrhenius of Sweden, one of the founders of physical chemistry; and Harold Urey of Columbia university, New York, who received the 1934 Nobel prize in chemistry. Dr. Doisy, discoverer of vitamin K, essential for the control of hemorrhage, has headed the department of biochemistry at the St. Louis institution for the past eighteen years.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 11, 1941.

A series of feature articles on the theme "Immigrants Who Have Helped to Make St. Louis a Better Place in Which to Live" have appeared in recent issues of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

The first of a series of historical articles on Andrew county, compiled by Judge Redmond S. Cole of Tulsa, Oklahoma, appears in the *Savannah Reporter* of January 10, 1941.

A history of southeast Missouri roads, compiled by H. B. Dickey of the State highway department, appears in the *Sikeston Standard* of February 4, 1941. The article was released by the news service of the highway department.

The column "Hillbilly Heartbeats," which Mrs. May Kennedy McCord conducts for the *Springfield Daily News* is a reservoir for Ozark folklore. Mrs. McCord, by recording notes about the superstitions, ballads, and history of the region, is doing much to preserve a rich heritage of the State that might otherwise be lost.

The valedictory of the *Stockton Journal*, Democratic newspaper published for the past seventy-one years in Cedar county, appeared in the issue of November 6, 1940. The subscription list of the *Journal* was turned over to the *Cedar County Republican*. Members of the Church family published the *Journal* for the past sixty years.

Historical articles by J. L. Ferguson which appear in recent issues of the Warrensburg *Star-Journal* include discussions of the educational developments in Johnson county. One article of particular value, "Common Schools from 1840 to 1860 Had No Local Tax Fund for Support," appears in the issue of January 28, 1941.

An illustrated article on the subject "War Helps Lead Miners," which describes the lead mining industry of south-east Missouri, appears in the *Missouriana* magazine of December, 1940.

The *Year Book 1940*, issued by the third U. S. volunteer engineers, war with Spain, includes a list of burial places of deceased members of the regiment. Two officers of the group, Luther Ely Smith, secretary, and H. Linton Reber, treasurer, reside in St. Louis.

Clint H. Denman, president of the Missouri press association, reviewed the seventy-three-year history of the organization at the meeting of Illinois editors in Urbana in October, 1940. The address appears in the *Missouri Press News* of December, 1940.

E. L. Preston, director of the informational service of the State highway department, is the author of an article on "Steamboats and Steamboatin'" which appeared in a number of Missouri newspapers during the last week of January and the first week of February, 1941.

Mrs. Beatrix Ford, secretary of the Northwest Missouri press association, recently compiled a history of the association. Northwest Missouri editors met at St. Joseph on November 20, 1891, and organized the association.

A brief note on the Bollinger family, pioneers in the present Bollinger county, by E. S. Bollinger appears in the *Missouri Farm Bureau News* of January 24, 1941.

A pamphlet entitled *A Review: Life of Dr. Edwin James, 1797-1861, A Professional Pathfinder* was published in 1940 by Robert Birbeck of Stanberry, Missouri.

L. A. Kingsbury, president of the historical society of Howard and Cooper counties, recently located the record of the sale of the New Franklin city hall, which was built from lottery funds, in 1907 for \$115. The story of the lottery appears in the article "Missouri Avenue and the Missouri State Lottery" by the late Samuel W. Ravenel in the *Missouri Historical Review* for July, 1940.

The *Missouri Archaeologist* of November, 1940, includes an article by James L. Lowe, which describes the archaeological survey in Carter county, and a discussion by J. M. Shippee of the investigations near Kansas City.

Dr. George W. Coffman, St. Louis physician, has recently published some of his poems in a pamphlet entitled *The Reveries of a Doctor*. Dr. Coffman graduated from the University of Missouri in 1884 and was awarded the McNally prize in English while a student.

Dr. J. M. Frankenburger is the author of a brief history of the University Medical college of Kansas City which appears in the *Jackson County Medical Society Weekly Bulletin* of November 9, 1940. The medical college was founded in 1881 and closed in 1911.

An article entitled "Echoes from Old Bethel Church" by A. Loyd Collins appears in the *Word and Way* of November 28, 1940. The church was located in Cape Girardeau county and dates back to 1806.

The work of Walter C. Norvell, Ozark artist, is described in an article entitled "Ozark Artist Paints 'Shepherd of Hills' Country" by Francis M. Campbell which appears in the *Missouri Ruralist* of November 9, 1940.

The motion picture feature, "The Lead Belt of Southeast Missouri," produced by the United States bureau of mines is described in the August, 1940, issue of the *St. Joe Safety Magazine*, the house organ of the St. Joseph Lead company which is published at Bonne Terre.

Ada M. Klett is the author of the article "Meisterschaft, or the True State of Mark Twain's German" which appears in the December, 1940, issue of the *American-German Review*. The magazine is published bimonthly by the Carl Schurz memorial foundation at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Robert M. Gay is the author of a valuable article "The Two Mark Twains" which appears in the *Atlantic* of December, 1940.

The New Madrid, Missouri, earthquake of 1811-1812 is described in the article "America's Greatest Earthquake" by Victor Hugo Boesen which appears in *Coronet* magazine for January, 1941.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Life in the Rocky Mountains, A Diary of Wanderings on the Sources of the Rivers Missouri, Columbia, and Colorado from February, 1830, to November, 1835. By W. A. Ferris. Edited by Paul C. Phillips. (Denver, Colo., The Old West publishing company, 1940. 365 pp.) The publication of this diary is a distinctive contribution to western Americana.

At the age of twenty, Warren Angus Ferris, a New Yorker, came to St. Louis, joined a fur trading expedition, and set out for the headwaters of the Missouri river. Leaving St. Louis on February 16, 1830, he went overland across the State, crossing the Missouri river at St. Charles, Arrow Rock, and Mount Vernon, once the county seat of Lillard now Lafayette county, situated near the mouth of Tabo creek. From Liberty, Missouri, he went in a northwestwardly direction across Missouri and the present state of Iowa to Council Bluffs.

Ferris returned to the East in 1835 and there during the next year prepared his narrative, "Life in the Rocky Mountains," and a map of the northwest fur country for publication. The narrative appeared serially in the *Western Literary Messenger*, Buffalo, New York, beginning on January 11, 1843, and ending on May 4, 1844. The "Map of the Northwest Fur Country" as drawn by Warren A. Ferris, is the most detailed and accurate map of the region, and although it was drawn to accompany the narrative, it is published here for the first time.

The rediscovery and editing of the Ferris narrative and map is a notable historical achievement. It is a valuable check on journals of the period and supplies additional data on important Indian-trader battles and on explorations and fur trade in the Rocky mountain region. As Ferris made note of everything, his diary is somewhat encyclopedic in its description of trails and camping grounds.

In addition to the diary, the volume also contains an evaluation of the Ferris map, a short biography of Ferris, a short history of fur trade from 1806 to 1830, and a full explanation of the editor's quest for the missing numbers of the *Western Literary Messenger*, which were found in 1939. Comments, cross references, and a 17-page analytical index add materially to the historical value of the work.

Father DeSmet, Pioneer Priest of the Rockies. By Helene Margaret. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, inc., 1940. 371 pp.) Father DeSmet, noted Catholic missionary to the Indians of the Northwest, has a popular place in American

history. He came to the United States in 1821 and two years later was chosen for the Jesuit novitiate, the second in the United States, which was founded at Florissant near St. Louis and which eventually became identified with the Catholic university of St. Louis. It was in 1838 that he entered upon his career as a missionary to the Indians, with his first mission near the present site of Council Bluffs, Iowa, among the Pottawatomies. Two years later, he surveyed the possibilities of a mission in Oregon, and soon the scope of his activities widened to include the entire Pacific Northwest and the great plains. In carrying out his missionary endeavors, he traveled 180,000 miles. He crossed the Atlantic sixteen times, and sailed once from Europe around Cape Horn and up the Pacific coast to Oregon.

Father DeSmet became well-known to most of the Indian tribes in the Northwest. When trouble arose between rival tribes or between the whites and Indians, he was the one man who could hope to bring peace. Perhaps his greatest achievement in Indian diplomacy was his visit to the camp of Sitting Bull in Bighorn valley in June, 1868. This famous Sioux chief had said that he would kill the first white man to show himself there, but DeSmet succeeded in paving the way for a conference and eventually for peace.

In tracing DeSmet's career, this dramatic biography gives an insight into white-Indian relations over a wide area and at the same time reveals the intimate life-story and personal characteristics of a notable Jesuit missionary. A five-page table furnishes a ready and authentic chronological digest of DeSmet's extensive travels.

Western America, The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi. By LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister. (New York, Prentice-Hall, inc., 1941. 698 pp.) This vivid history especially treats the exploration, settlement, and the economic, social, and political development of the trans-Mississippi West from the days of the Spanish *conquistadores* to the present. In turn this volume unfolds the story of early explorations, colonization, Indian wars, territorial conquests, border traders and trappers,

transportation, railroad building, industry, agrarianism, and the rise of a regional culture, to mention only selected divisions. Such noted persons in Missouri history as Du Tisne, De Bourgmond, the Chouteaus, the Robidoux family, Manuel Lisa, Ashley, the Bent brothers, Ceran St. Vrain, and others have a part in this historical record of western America. The book is authentic, well indexed, and contains a number of maps and an excellent bibliography. It is perhaps the best single-volume publication of its kind in print.

The March of the Mounted Riflemen . . . From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849, As Recorded in the Journals of Major Osborne and George Gibbs and the Official Report of Colonel Loring. Edited by Raymond W. Settle. Northwest Historical Series III. (Glendale, Calif., The Arthur H. Clark company, 1940. 380 pp.) The regiment of mounted riflemen recruited by congressional act of 1846 was the first military unit to traverse the entire length of the Oregon trail. The companies taking part in this famous march were assembled at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, early in 1849. Companies A and B marched overland across the State to Fort Leavenworth and the remainder of the regiment arrived there by steamboat late in March. At Fort Leavenworth and Camp Sumner, five miles west of the fort, the men were drilled and the train assembled. When ready to march, the caravan consisted of 700 horses, 1,200 mules, a number of oxen, and 172 wagons.

The only complete narratives of this long expedition from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver are in the journals of Major Cross and George Gibbs, and the official report of Colonel William Wing Loring. Colonel Loring's report was necessarily brief, yet when this is combined with the more detailed accounts of Cross and Gibbs the story of this magnificent achievement is practically complete. These and the materials furnished by the editor in 316 footnotes furnish a chronicle of daily events, comments of journalists, letter writers, references to conditions encountered, descriptions of natural scenes, and a recital of experiences of emigrants seen on the way.

This work makes available to the public the primary accounts of the 1849 expedition of the mounted riflemen. The text is supplemented by scholarly footnotes, a table of distances, a map of the course followed by the regiment, and an index of more than 1,000 items.

De Bellisle on the Texas Coast. By Henri Folmer. Reprinted from the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2, October, 1940. This booklet contains a translation of the entire "Relation" of De Bellisle as reproduced by Pierre Margry in *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Vol. VI, pp. 320-47. The translation is ably introduced, edited, and evaluated and makes more accessible material on the character and work of De Bellisle, French explorer who spent some time during the middle 1720s at Fort Orleans in present Carroll county, Missouri. Henri Folmer will be remembered by Missourians as the author of "De Bourgmund's Expedition to the Padoucas in 1724," published in the *Colorado Magazine* for July, 1937, and "The Mallet Expedition of 1739 Through Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado to Santa Fe" which appeared in the September, 1939, issue of the same magazine.

King of the Fur Traders, The Deeds and Devilry of Pierre Esprit Radisson. By Stanley Vestal. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin company, 1940. 326 pp.) This is a delightfully written account of the life of Pierre Radisson, a rare person in the annals of early exploration in the great lakes region. Radisson was successively prisoner, Indian scout and warrior, *voyageur*, hunter, trapper, trader, and diplomat, not to mention his exploits in the French navy and his work as an author. In a checkered career, he served first the French government, then the English, and finally again transferred his allegiance to the French.

Great as are his adventures, his achievements overshadowed them. Radisson is credited with discovering Lake Superior and the hinterland of Hudson's Bay. His need for financial aid to explore the possibilities of Hudson's Bay, both for trade and for finding a route to Asia, took him successively

to France, New England, and England. In England he succeeded. There on May 2, 1670, the Hudson's Bay company was organized. The subsequent empire building activities of this great fur company led the author of this book to call Radisson a "seventeenth century Cecil Rhodes."

The *King of the Fur Traders* is based entirely on secondary sources and presents little or nothing that has not already appeared in the publications of the state historical societies of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and South Dakota. The story that Radisson was the discoverer of the Mississippi river is an old and often repeated error. However, the author specifically corrects those who have mistakenly accredited Radisson with exploring the lower Missouri river. He says Radisson's report on the Indians of the Missouri river country was "hearsay."

Unknown facts about Radisson are still to be uncovered. Only recently, the John Simon Guggenheim foundation granted a fellowship to Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts of the Minnesota State Historical Society, who is preparing a biography of this noted Frenchman.

Mark Twain in Eruption, Hitherto Unpublished Pages About Men and Events. By Mark Twain. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. (New York and London, Harper and Brothers publishers, 1940. 402 pp.) When Albert Bigelow Paine finished editing his two-volume *Autobiography of Mark Twain* in 1924, it was found that only about one-half of the unpublished manuscripts of Mark Twain had been used. Thereupon, Bernard DeVoto, an authority on Mark Twain, was employed by the Mark Twain estate and Harper and Brothers, publishers, to check through the remaining unpublished papers and edit those portions which he considered most valuable.

DeVoto's edition, *Mark Twain in Eruption*, presents in published form a new collection of anecdotes, opinions, and reminiscences of the noted humorist. It is not autobiography in the usual sense of the word, but rather the over-the-table talk of Mark Twain about the people he knew and the events that interested him.

Contrary to the impression which the title might give, Mark Twain in his book is not in "eruption." Except for the occasional harmless thrusts of his sarcasm, the book is quite tame. Mark Twain's notes on ministerial shows, mesmerism, and his early memories make entertaining reading. The editor's 22-page introduction gives a concise critical analysis of the humorist as well as an evaluation of the unpublished materials still remaining in the Mark Twain manuscript collection.

Iowa, Land of Many Mills. By Jacob A. Swisher. (Iowa City, Iowa, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1940. 317 pp.) This fascinating history of Iowa mills is the result of years of research, involving extensive reading about the evolution of water wheels and millstones, and countless visits to silent, dilapidated, old structures where grist was once ground and lumber sawed.

The first mills appeared in Iowa in the 1830s and 1840s. Small, crude, and inefficient though they were, these early establishments cannot be neglected in the industrial history of the Middle West. Small water mills were common in the decade of the 1850s and 1860s, but soon thereafter corn began to supplant wheat in Iowa and the importance of the mill and the miller declined with each succeeding year. In their heyday, millers made comfortable fortunes—and not a few lost them. With the passing of the years, many of the mills have been destroyed by fire, and floods have swept away the mill-dams.

More than 200 footnotes, the names and location of some 700 old mills, and an 1,800-item index augment the value of the book. It also contains full-page pictures of twenty old mills.

How Dear to My Heart. By Mary Margaret McBride. (New York, The MacMillan company, 1940. 196 pp.) Well-known writer and "columnist of the air," Mary Margaret McBride in this modest volume recaptures and portrays vivid memories of her childhood in rural Missouri. A native and

for many years a resident of Monroe county, Missouri, Miss McBride writes this personal story of midwestern farm life with a candor and simplicity that are both startling and touching. The book is subdivided according to seasons and in each subdivision the writer recalls those typical scenes and incidents which impressed her as a child. Winter brought snow, popcorn, school, and Christmas; spring meant moving, revival meetings, and day dreams; summer spelt freedom; and with the autumn came the county fairs.

Women and the West, A Short Social History. By William Forrest Sprague. (Boston, The Christopher publishing house, 1940. 294 pp.) This is a study of women of European descent who participated in the settlement and development of the trans-Allegheny West. It is a story of hardships, self-sacrifice, and in many cases death. Woman's work in subduing the wilderness was two-fold. First she had to deal directly with the basic economic problems of food, clothing, and shelter, and then with the general problem of cultural advancement. The book treats the emergence of equal educational opportunities for women, the gradual improvement in their legal status, and finally their first suffrage victory and entrance into politics. Mrs. Nellie T. Ross, a native of St. Joseph, Missouri, became the governor of Wyoming in 1924—the first woman in the United States to hold such a position. In 1933 President Roosevelt appointed her director of the mint. The greatest characteristic of the pioneer woman, according to the author, was her ability to face difficult situations. This work differs from most studies of its kind in that it avoids the biographical approach as much as possible. It is an authentic and lasting memorial to the pioneer women of America.

My Dear Lady, The Story of Anna Ella Carroll, the "Great Unrecognized Member of Lincoln's Cabinet." By Marjorie Barstow Greenbie. (New York and London, Whittlesey House, 1940. 316 pp.) This story of Anna Ella Carroll may not be historically authentic in every detail, yet it is worth-while reading. Miss Carroll was a member of a

well-known Maryland family which furnished the United States its first Catholic archbishop and Maryland one of its early governors. She was the great granddaughter of Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Anna Ella Carroll was beyond doubt an extraordinary woman. However, that she swayed the policies of President Lincoln on numerous occasions or showed General Grant how to attack the Confederacy by way of the Tennessee river rather than by the Mississippi river sounds in some measure fantastic. Nevertheless, the book presents biographical data of importance, and relevant to Miss Carroll's friendship with Edward Bates, Missourian and attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, it contains some Missouri material. If not taken too seriously, *My Dear Lady* is an interesting adventure in historical speculation.

Norwegian Migration to America, The American Transition. By Theodore C. Blegen. (Northfield, Minn., The Norwegian-American historical association, 1940. 655 pp.) In the present work, the author deals with the American transition of the Norwegian immigrants and recognizes throughout an interplay of two creative forces—the European heritage and the American environment. Consideration is given first to the Old World scene out of which the immigrant came and then the ordeal of pioneering. In the latter development came the inevitable changes in the immigrant's speech, dress, and general pattern of social behavior. This volume treats likewise the part played by Norwegian immigrants in common schools, in higher education, and in the development of the Norwegian press. The publication is carefully documented and represents a study no student of American history can afford to overlook. Except for a few direct references, Missouri plays only a relative part in this historical interlude.

Proceedings of the First National Conference on Land Classification. University of Missouri, agricultural experiment station, *Bulletin* 421. (Columbia, 1940. 334 pp.) Rural land classification has been a subject of growing interest

since the World war. The first national conference on land classification was sponsored by the University of Missouri and held in Columbia, Missouri, October 10-12, 1940. The program was arranged by a joint committee representing the Missouri college of agriculture and the United States department of agriculture. Twenty-two papers on various phases of the problem of land classification were read. These papers and the comments of specialists on each of the major subjects considered by the conference are included in this volume.

The "Notes of Auguste Chouteau on Boundaries of Various Indian Nations" with an introduction, footnotes, and map contributed by Grant Foreman appear in *Glimpses of the Past*, Vol. VII, Nos. 9-12 (October-December, 1940), pp. 119-40, published by the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. This document is reproduced from Chouteau's original notes among the "Records of the Department of the Interior," *Ancient and Miscellaneous Surveys*, Vol. IV, in the national archives at Washington. It is signed by Auguste Chouteau and dated February 21, 1816. The document treats in considerable detail the land areas claimed by the Arkansas Indians, the Big and Little Osages, the Pawnees, Otos, Mahas, Iowas, Kansas, Missouris, and the Sioux and Fox Indians. The document is accompanied by a map, drawn from the notes of Chouteau and also bearing the date of February, 1816, which shows the areas occupied by each of the tribes named.

The "Letters of William Carr Lane, 1819-1831" appear in *Glimpses of the Past*, Vol. VII, Nos. 7-9 (July-September, 1940), pp. 47-114, published by the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. This edition of letters together with the introduction which gives a concise biographical sketch of Dr. William Carr Lane, throws light on conditions in the State in the 1820s and 1830s and on the life, character, and temperament of Dr. Lane. Lane was not only a physician of ability, but one of Missouri's leading citizens a century ago. During the 1820s, he was active in promoting social

and civic endeavors in St. Louis, serving as the first mayor of St. Louis, a position to which he was elected for five consecutive terms. Nine years later, he was elected to fill the unexpired term of his friend John F. Darby and was then re-elected for two terms—a record unequalled in the history of St. Louis. President Fillmore appointed him governor of New Mexico territory in 1852.

The October, 1940, issue of the *Evangelical and Reformed Monthly* is devoted to the program for the centennial anniversary of the Evangelical synod, a short history of the synod, and historical sketches of thirty-six early Evangelical churches in Missouri. It also contains a drawing of the old Evangelical church at Gravois where the *Kirchenverein des Westens* was organized, and a drawing of the Evangelical church at Femme Osage—the first church to be known as “Evangelical.” The pictures of eight other churches and four institutions of benevolence or education add to the general interest and value of the work.

Bethel Church Book, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Bethel Church, 1806-1867. Mimeographed. (St. Louis, Missouri historical records survey, 1940. 82 pp.) There were people of Baptist affiliation among the earliest settlers in present Cape Girardeau county. Bethel organization was organized July 19, 1806, and soon thereafter a church was built about two miles southwest of Jackson, Missouri. The records of this church throw light on the religious life and the customs and conditions in pioneer Missouri.

Souvenir of the Centennial and Homecoming, 1840-1940, Immaculate Conception Parish, Maxwell-Arnold, Missouri (n. p., n. d.), is the title of an eighty-two page brochure written in commemoration of the centennial anniversary of Immaculate Conception parish in Jefferson county. Under the divisional headings of “Then and Now,” “The Birth of the Parish,” and “The Reverend Pastors,” the history of the parish is traced from the beginning. The narrative is also

supplemented by a ten-page chronological table, nine portraits, and also pictures of the local church, the parish school, the rectory, the convent, and the church grounds.

The Truth About St. Louis University. By Claude H. Heithaus. Illustrated. ([St. Louis university, 1940.] 38 pp.) This booklet presents some interesting and rather startling facts about St. Louis university. The university is controlled by the Jesuits, a society of priest-scholars, who have been engaged in higher education since 1540. St. Louis university is the oldest university in the United States west of the Mississippi river and is the first Catholic educational institution in the United States to establish schools of philosophy and science, divinity, medicine, law, commerce and finance, and a graduate school. The university is said to be the most fully developed Catholic university in the world. In 1939, it had an enrollment of 7,117 students.

Minutes of the St. Louis Board of Trustees, 1808-1809. Reprinted from the original manuscript *Proceedings of Trustees of Town of St. Louis*. Mimeographed. (St. Louis, Missouri historical records survey, 1940. 6 pp.) The town of St. Louis was incorporated in 1808 and Auguste Chouteau, Pierre Chouteau, Bernard Pratte, Edward Hempstead, and Alexander McNair were elected members of the first board of trustees. Auguste Chouteau was unanimously elected president of the board and during the first year ordinances were adopted regulating "butcheries," patrolling the streets, eliminating fire hazards, and protecting the general health. In this reprint, no statement is made concerning the owner or location of the original manuscript.

You and Your Superstitions. By Brewton Berry. (Columbia, Mo., Lucas Brothers, 1940. 249 pp.) The author of this recent book is secretary of the Missouri archaeological society. He presents not just another sociological publication, but a work of art, scholarship, and broad genial culture. Although somewhat light in manner of presentation, it is

stimulating and reveals in an unusual way some basic principles of human nature.

Even in this scientific age, "men still grope t' anticipate the cabinet designs of Fate," and in the words of this author superstition is still able to announce, "Business as Usual." The book gives an informal but penetrating analysis of superstitions, including a discussion of omens, ghosts, dreams, palmistry, phrenology, astrology, and other phases of superstition.

The Kiwanis Club, Columbia, Missouri, 1922-1940, Eighteen Years of Service. ([Columbia, Mo., 1940.] 34 pp.) This brochure was prepared by a committee on Kiwanis history and education. It treats briefly the history of the Kiwanis organization and the Missouri-Kansas-Arkansas district, reviews the history of more than a dozen community projects sponsored by the Columbia club, and gives short biographies of sixty-seven Kiwanis club members of Columbia, Missouri.

The November, 1940, issue of the *University of Colorado Studies*, General Series (A), Vol. XXVI, No. 3, pp. 58 and 111, contains an abstract of "A Study of the Stephens College Silent Reading Survey Test" by Eugene Floyd Ireys and also an abstract of a thesis being written by Luther C. Skelton on "The Organization and Development of a Guidance Program for the Hatfield High School, Hatfield, Missouri." Reports of these studies may be obtained at cost from the non-profit bibliofilm service, United States department of agriculture library, Washington, D. C., in either bibliofilm or photoprint form.

"English Lutheran Church Activities in the Ozarks Prior to 1888" is the title of an article by Walter Cook which has been appearing in the *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*.

Lights and Shadows. By members of the Tri-State writers' club. (Joplin, Mo., Commercial printing company, 1940. 30 pp.) Among Missourians represented in this an-

thology of verse and prose are Georgia Marshall Cragin, who has won fame as a writer of Ozark hill-billy songs, and Mary Twitchel Jones.

"Scott's and Applegate's Old South Road" is the title of an article by Mildred Baker Burcham which appears in the December, 1940, issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, pp. 405-423. Jesse Applegate and his brothers, Charles and Lindsey, were early settlers in St. Clair county, Missouri. They left Independence, Missouri, for Oregon in April, 1843. There Jesse soon became a power in politics and to this day is sometimes referred to as the "State Builder" of Oregon. He was the leading spirit in an exploring company that laid out the "Old South Road" in 1846—the trail over which the most of the early Oregon emigrants passed.

The first installment of a critical study entitled "Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana*" by Jean Delanglez, appears in the January, 1941, issue of *Mid-America*.

A serial article on "The Blair Family in the Civil War" by Grace N. Taylor is appearing in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*. Installments appeared in the October, 1940, and January, 1941, issues of the magazine.

PERSONALS

JACOB D. ALLEN: Born in Franklin county, Ky., Sept. 12, 1859; died at Butler, Mo., Feb. 6, 1941. Mr. Allen was elected as clerk of the Supreme Court of Missouri in April, 1910, to complete the unexpired term of John R. Green. In 1915 he was elected to a full six-year term and was re-elected in 1921 and 1927. He was a former publisher of the *Butler Weekly Times* and served as chairman of the commission which located the state hospital for the insane at Farmington.

GEORGE BARTHOLOMAEUS: Born in Fredericksburg, Va., Sept. 18, 1867; died at Jefferson City, Mo., Dec. 3, 1940. Mr. Bartholomaeus was the publisher of the *Hartsburg Tri-*

County Truth at the time of his death. His newspaper career included the editorship of the Warrenton *Volksfreund*, the *Economist*, *Economist-Banner*, and the *Herald*. He was also connected at different times with the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, the *Springfield Leader*, and the *Missouri Review*. Active in Republican party circles for more than forty years, he served for a time as the editor of the *Official Manual of the State of Missouri* and as secretary of the bureau of mines and mining.

JOEL HEATWOLE BIXBY: Born at Red Wing, Minn., Nov. 30, 1888; died at Springfield, Mo., Dec. 1, 1940. Mr. Bixby became the editor and general manager of the Springfield newspaper incorporation after the death of his brother, Edson Kingman Bixby, on March 17, 1940.

LOUIS C. BOISLINIERE: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 24, 1861; died at St. Louis, Jan. 11, 1941. Dr. Boisliniere, the dean of tuberculosis specialists in St. Louis, practiced medicine in that city for fifty-eight years. He was one of the founders of the Trudeau society, a St. Louis organization of tuberculosis specialists. Dr. Boisliniere was chief of staff at Mt. St. Rose sanatorium in St. Louis and was an associate professor of medicine at St. Louis university.

HENRY T. BURCKHARTT: Born near Rocheport, Mo., in March, 1861; died at Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 15, 1940. Mr. Burckhartt was connected with several Howard county newspapers and at one time published the *Columbia Herald*. From March 1, 1893, until March, 1896, he published the *Windsor Review* and was later associated with Russell Blakey in the publication of the *Fayette Democrat-Leader*.

ROBERT HUGH DAVIS: Born near Patterson in Wayne county, Mo., March 16, 1869; died at Fredericktown, Mo., Dec. 22, 1940. Mr. Davis represented Wayne county in the fortieth general assembly of Missouri. He moved to Fredericktown in 1908 and continued to practice law. He received the Fredericktown "Honor Citizen" award on December 12, 1940.

VERNON L. DRAIN: Born at Shelbyville, Mo., Jan. 21, 1864; died in Shelbyville, Jan. 5, 1941. Mr. Drain served three successive terms from 1917 to 1935 as judge of the second judicial circuit of Missouri which comprises Shelby and Macon counties. He also served Shelby county two terms as prosecuting attorney from 1893 to 1897.

SAMUEL MCKNIGHT GREEN: Born in Cape Girardeau, Mo., Aug. 11, 1867; died at St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 13, 1941. Mr. Green had been superintendent of the Missouri school for the blind at St. Louis for the past forty-one years. He was president of the American association of instructors for the blind from 1926 until 1928.

BART B. HOWARD: Born at North Brookfield, Mass.; died at St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 12, 1941. Mr. Howard, who had been a member of the editorial staff of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* since 1919, was awarded the Pulitzer prize for distinguished writing in 1940. Early in his journalism career he edited papers at Joplin, Missouri, and at one time was a member of the *St. Louis Republic* staff. Mr. Howard received the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in June, 1940, from Williams college, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

EDWIN WEBSTER KEITHLY: Born at Center, Mo., Dec. 10, 1871; died in Center, Feb. 9, 1941. He represented Ralls county in the fifty-fourth, fifty-fifth, and fifty-sixth general assemblies.

GEORGE EDGAR LADD: Born at Haverhill, Mass., July 23, 1864; died in Chevy Chase, Md., Dec. 23, 1940. Dr. Ladd was the director of the Missouri school of mines and metallurgy at Rolla from 1897 until 1907. He was associated with the United States bureau of public roads from 1917 until 1936 and was considered one of the foremost world authorities on mass earth movements.

JOHN D. McADAMS: Born in Otterville, Ill.; died at St. Augustine, Fla., Feb. 1, 1941. Mr. McAdams, who was 65

years of age at his death, had served as business manager of the *Alton* (Illinois) *Evening Telegraph* for 35 years. He was responsible for many public projects of interest to Missourians, including the erection of the Lewis and Clark bridge. His brother, Clark McAdams, was a former editor of the editorial page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and his father, William McAdams, was a well-known historian and archaeologist.

FRANCES PEARLE MITCHELL: Born near Columbia, Mo., June 22, 1863; died at Daytona Beach, Fla., Dec. 28, 1940. Miss Mitchell served as secretary of the board of managers of the Missouri colony for feeble-minded and epileptic under appointment by Governors Lon V. Stephens and Alexander M. Dockery. She was also a member of the board which located the Missouri State school for feeble-minded and epileptic at Marshall. Governor Joseph W. Folk appointed her as one of the commissioners which represented Missouri at the Lewis and Clark exposition in 1905 at Portland, Oregon. Miss Mitchell organized and was president for five years of the Missouri women farmers club.

CHARLES DILLON MORRIS: Born at Buena Vista, O., Nov. 21, 1867; died in Chicago, Ill., Nov. 8, 1940. Mr. Morris entered the newspaper field as the publisher of the *Quitman Herald* in Nodaway county. After three years he sold the *Herald* and purchased the *Trenton Tribune* which he published thirteen years as a daily and a weekly. In 1904, in association with E. E. E. McJimsey of Maryville and John E. Swanger, he purchased the *St. Joseph Gazette* which he continued to publish until 1922 when he became the public relations agent of the western railroad association with headquarters in Chicago.

EDWIN NOLTE: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 27, 1885; died in St. Charles county, Mo., Dec. 14, 1940. Mr. Nolte was elected to the State senate from the thirty-fourth district in 1930 and served one term.

GEORGE W. REAVIS: Born in Knoxville, Mo., Aug. 11, 1873; died at Columbia, Mo., Dec. 29, 1940. Mr. Reavis served as assistant State superintendent of schools under Sam A. Baker from 1920 until 1922 and from 1922 until 1934 he was the director of vocational education for Missouri.

RICHARD M. ROBERTSON: Born in Hickory county, Mo., Nov. 29, 1852; died in Warrensburg, Mo., Dec. 5, 1940. Mr. Robertson worked in the office of the Warrensburg *Journal Democrat* and then read law in the office of Francis Marion Cockrell and Thomas T. Crittenden. After Crittenden was elected governor, Robertson studied in the office of C. E. Moorman. He was admitted to the bar on February 22, 1878. He represented Johnson county in the thirty-eighth general assembly of Missouri.

HENRY M. SMITH: Born near Patton in Bollinger county, Mo., Nov. 6, 1861; died at Lutesville, Mo., Jan. 20, 1941. Mr. Smith represented Bollinger county in the forty-fifth, fifty-first, and fifty-fifth general assemblies of Missouri.

DAVID W. STARK: Born at West Line, Mo., Aug. 12, 1879; died in Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 1, 1940. Mr. Stark represented Cass county in the forty-sixth and forty-seventh general assemblies of Missouri and in 1916 was elected senator from the seventeenth senatorial district in the State.

FRANK WILLIAM TAUSSIG: Born in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 28, 1859; died in Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 12, 1940. Internationally known as a political economist, Mr. Taussig was a professor emeritus of Harvard university. Professor Taussig was chairman of the United States tariff commission from 1917 until 1919. He was the author of *Tariff History of the United States*; *Silver Situation in the United States*; *Wages and Capital*; *Free Trade, the Tariff and Reciprocity*; and *International Trade*. He was the editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* and was a former president of the American economic association.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

EDGAR WHITE MEMORIAL

From the *Kansas City Times*, November 28, 1940. Excerpts from the "Missouri Notes" column by Gordon Hudelson.

One of the most commendable projects started in Missouri in recent years is that conceived by a group of North Missouri newspaper editors—a plan to build a memorial in Macon to honor the memory of Edgar White, widely-known Macon editor who died several years ago . . .

"We are going to erect a memorial in Macon to the memory of Edgar White," Mr. Shoemaker [Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, who is chairman of the Edgar White memorial foundation] said, "and it must be a memorial that will portray the spirit of this man who I believe was the most unselfish person I ever knew in my life. Mr. White was a chronicler of the times in Macon and I believe that a memorial chime clock would be an excellent idea. Other ideas have been given the foundation . . ."

This writer had the fortune of knowing Edgar White intimately and of receiving his excellent advice on journalism. Mr. White spent all his newspaper life in Macon county and he was an authority on that section of the State. Because of his ability as a newspaper and magazine writer, he publicized Northeast Missouri and brought fame to the small towns and farms.

A student of Mark Twain, it was Edgar White who conceived the idea of the memorial park for the noted humorist at Florida, in Monroe county. Taking his plan before the Northeast Missouri press association, the Macon editor received the indorsement of that group of editors, and then he set to work. No one knows how much of his own time and money he gave to the project, but ultimately he was successful and today the Mark Twain park is a reality and is one of the showplaces of Missouri.

Edgar White, when he died, left no material estate, but he left his mark on the community in which he lived. What Mr. Shoemaker said about Mr. White's unselfishness is true, because it seemed he was always trying to help someone, believing that a kind Providence would take care of him. He would call newspapermen in near by towns, at his own expense, to give them tips on possible stories, and it seemed he never was too busy to sit down and advise a young reporter how a newspaper article should be written.

The thing that always impressed us about Mr. White was that, in his declining years, he still retained all the enthusiasm of a cub reporter about his work. He was of the old time school of reporters that wrote in shorthand, but that was probably because in his early days he was a court reporter and was required to use shorthand. His Macon office was littered

with notebooks, magazines and newspapers. None seemed to be in proper order, but he always knew where to find anything he sought and because of his wonderful retentive memory he seldom had to consult his files.

Another thing that made Mr. White an outstanding newspaperman was his ability to find something interesting in the commonplace things in life. Without violating the truth he could find a human interest story in almost any assignment. That was because he knew and understood his people. His thoroughness and accuracy made him one of the finest of Missouri's rural newspapermen.

"I hope Macon and Macon county will join wholeheartedly with the Northeast Missouri press association in erecting a proper memorial to this good man who gave his all for this section of the State," said Senator Frank P. Briggs, publisher of the *Macon Chronicle-Herald*, of which Mr. White was editor many years. "Those of us who knew him best feel that too much cannot be said or done to honor his memory. He was unselfish, he gave every cent he made to aid some less fortunate friend, he allowed no suffering—be it man or beast—to go unalleviated if his talent or means could calm the pains or hurts. He gave it all without hope of fee or reward. His reward should be as unstinted in heaven and we who are allowed to carry on, should see that he is properly honored."

We are proud to add our indorsement to this proposal and it is too bad that Edgar White, with such a noble project taking form in his home town, isn't on hand to see and know what the home folk think about him . . . this time Northeast Missouri wants to honor its beloved editor.

MARKERS FOR MISSOURI

Editorial from the *Kansas City Star*, January 5, 1941. Reprinted in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 12, 1941.

Missouri's undeniable attractions deserve to be brought more fully to the attention of the nation, and we sympathize with the program being instituted to attract tourists to the State by the means of advertising.

In the meantime Missouri could be doing something to improve her attractiveness to visitors—something which would have a comparatively low cost, but which would have an immediate effect. This is the marking of all places in Missouri having a historical or other wide interest, with highway markers.

Kansas, having given the subject the most careful study is in the process of a state-wide marking plan now which will make that state an infinitely more interesting place in which to travel. Many other states have recognized the value of historical markers, and in particular some of the western states and some of the historic states of the East, like New York and Virginia, are capitalizing on it.

Wherever tried it has been found to pay handsome dividends. Missouri, mother of the West, the heart of the border wars, the start of the overland trails, the dark and bloody ground of the Civil war, the first

home of Mark Twain and the last home of Daniel Boone, would lend itself admirably to the use of markers.

Here is indubitably a task to be sponsored and directed by the State Historical Society just as it was so sponsored in Kansas by the Historical Society of that state.

[*Editor's Note:* For statistics and data on historical highway markers in Missouri, see the article "Missouri's Modern Historical Markers on U. S. Highway 36" in "Missouriana" of this issue of the *Review*. In 1931 and 1932, George A. Mahan, president of the State Historical Society from 1925 until his death in 1936, donated money for the erection of twenty-nine historical markers along U. S. Highway 36 and four on Highway 61. In the same year the State highway department erected an historical marker at Sedalia, Missouri, memorializing road construction progress in Missouri. The inscriptions for these thirty-four markers were prepared by the State Historical Society of Missouri. In 1934 and 1935, Mahan placed eleven historical markers at various points in Hannibal. On January 24, 1941, the Kansas State Historical Society had erected twelve markers and had ten more ready.]

SPORTSMEN, ATTENTION

From the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, November 22, 1824.

The *Assembly* race course will be opened at the seat of government of the State of Missouri during the present session of the legislature, with the splendid *senatorial* purse of two thousand dollars, to be paid at the treasury of the United States; free for any horse properly entered, and the usual security of club money advanced. Two horses have been regularly entered as candidates for this prize, and from the amount of money at stake, we are convinced that several others, now in training, will be brought in the field on the day of the trial. For the information of those who are disposed to participate in the chances of the race, we will give to the public a fair and candid description of the steeds now in keeping.

The first of these before the public is called LITTLE DAVY. This is a favorite pony in Missouri. He was imported from Tennessee some ten or twelve years ago, and has always been considered the swiftest nag of his inches in the state. We have not a file of the *Sporting Magazine* at hand, and are therefore unable to state his performances during the territorial government, but since that time, we can safely say that he has taken every purse for which he was entered. In 1820, he was placed on the county track with *eighteen* opponents for the *convention* purse, which he won with ease, taking the lead of all his competitors. In the fall of the same year, he took the *senatorial* purse on the *Assembly* course, in company with "Corinthian Tom," and distanced four out of five opponents.

Bets on *Little Davy* are offered two to one against the field.

The second, is named *THE WARRIOR*, A stout, well made animal, supposed to have been *colled* in Virginia, and shortly afterwards taken to Ohio, where he was used as a saddle horse until the war with Great Britain, when he accompanied the great war horse *Harrison* to the frontiers, and passed through the hardships of an arduous campaign without injury. He was brought to the State about eight years since, and entered for the first time on the *Pike County* course in the fall races of 1820, for a *sweepstake*, and was beaten by a *scrub* horse of low pedigree. After this defeat, his owner traded him to the Jocky club in Howard county, where he has been in constant keeping ever since. Shortly after his arrival in Howard, he took without difficulty the Major General's purse when opposed by Don Juan.

The Howard club appear to be envious of the fame which the St. Louis nags have acquired in point of speed, and are determined, in case the *Warrior* should be beat by *Little Davy*, to enter him for a similar purse on the same course, two years hence in opposition to Corinthian Tom.

But few wagers have been offered on the *Warrior*. The "*Umbrella*" Colonel was seen to bet on him with a "*beardless*" juryman a few days ago at the courthouse.

We will now proceed to name the horses in training for this grand prize.

1st. *TEAGUE O'REAGAN*. This is a famous old wagon horse of extraordinary bottom. He is of the *Conestogu* breed, and was raised to the draught in Pennsylvania. When this country was thinly populated and swift horses scarce, he was brought to Missouri, and made his *debut* as a racer on the Territorial course, for a *Congressional* purse, when he was beat by *Old Ironsides*. Since then his speed has been twice tried, and on both occasions performed to the satisfaction of his owners; the first was on the county track in 1820, when he came within a few inches of being next beat to *Little Davy*, being that distance in the rear of the *Surveyor*. His next attempt was on the *Grand State* course in the fall of the same year, when owing to his superior bottom, he took the *Gubernatorial* purse, when opposed by the favorite *William the Conqueror*.

It is whispered about by the knowing ones, that *Teague's* wind has been greatly injured by the use of unwholesome forage; this is founded upon the fact of his having broken his enclosure last winter and strayed to Washington city, where he was taken up as a stray and placed in charge of a sable female groom, who very unguardedly fed him upon *oysters*, although she had the authority of Dr. Franklin to know that such food better suited the palate of a *man* than that of a *beast*.

2d. *SIR GEORGE*. This is a slim well made animal of the Virginia breed, his tight and elastic limbs peculiarly adapt him for the course, particularly for quarter or scrub races. He has taken purses in Virginia, to what number or amount, we are uninformed. His first appearance with us was in a contest with *Grey Hair* for a *Congressional* purse of \$1500 over the *Grand State* course in August last. At the first onset *Sir George* took the lead and continued to retain it as far as the judges could discern

them, but the better bottom of *Grey Hair* brought him out a little ahead of *Sir George*. It is predicted by some grooms that this horse will not run so well in his next essay, in consequence of an overstraining which he is said to have underwent in the race just mentioned.

3d. OLD IRONSIDES. This is a well known horse of long standing. He . . . was defeated by *Grey Hair* on the *Congressional* course. Since then he has been running along with the other cattle in the rush bottoms, until he has become perfectly bott eaten, spavined and hide bound. He was entered for the *Gubernatorial* purse last spring together with *Nimrod* and the *Hermet*; but a want of confidence in his powers, induced his keepers to have him withdrawn, and suffer a forfeiture of the entrance money.

4th. THE STRIPLING, a little nag of excellent breeding; carries remarkably well. His speed has never been tried in any but two mile beats, in which he generally performed to admiration. The first trial was for a sweepstake on the county track in 1820, on which occasion he was beat by some old racers; shortly afterwards he won a *scrub* race on the same track in opposition to the *Old Captain*. Since then he has been regularly entered for the sweepstakes purse, and has always been victorious. The *Stripling* has a very deceptive appearance, so much so, that a stranger to look at him, would not suppose him to possess the speed of a racer. He is allowed by good judges to be the most promising colt west of the Mississippi, and should he be held in keeping by experienced grooms for two years more without injury by straining, it is generally admitted that he will prove a very formidable candidate for either the *Congressional* or *Senatorial* purses which are then to be awarded.

5th. TIPPICANOE, a sure and fast horse of the Kentucky blood. He was brought to Missouri a few years back, for the purposes of the draught, but finding that he went remarkably well in harness, and was possessed of all the tractable and gentle qualities necessary for the turf, he was entered by his owners in a scrub race with the *Vulcan* on the county course in 1822, and came very nigh distancing his opponent. He was entered for a sweepstake on the same course in the fall races of the present year, and took the purse by walking over the track, the Jockies being afraid to risk an opposition. Some six years hence, *Tippicanoe* might be ventured on the *course* his owner is now aiming at, but should he be placed in competition with *Little Davy* in the approaching contest, the result will show that it requires much greater power to pass over the *Assembly track* to advantage than it does our common two mile courses.

Jockeying of any kind whatever is positively prohibited.

Notice will be published at St. Charles of the day on which the race will take place, at which time due attendance will be given by

KETCH & CO.

[Editor's Note: With subtle humor, the author of this sketch described the forthcoming election of a United States senator from Missouri by the general assembly in 1824. Most of the candidates referred to in the

sketch are readily identified. David Barton, recognized as "Little Davy" and Thomas Hart Benton as "Corinthian Tom," had been elected to the senate in 1820. Barton had drawn the short term and was standing for re-election in 1824. Before his election to the senate, he had served as president of the constitutional convention. "The Warrior" was John Miller, representative of Howard county in the second and third general assemblies of Missouri. A native of Virginia, he was editor of two Ohio newspapers before coming to Missouri. During the War of 1812, he was assigned to duty under General William Henry Harrison and after the war was stationed in Missouri. "Teague O'Reagan" in the sketch referred to Governor Alexander McNair. A native of Pennsylvania, McNair was defeated by Rufus Easton, "Old Ironsides," in the 1814 election for a delegate to Congress from the Missouri territory. In the gubernatorial race of 1820, McNair defeated William Clark, "William, the Conqueror." "Sir George" was George French Strother, native Virginian, who ran for Congress in 1824 and was defeated by John Scott, "Grey Hair." Easton, who stood for re-election as the delegate to Congress in 1816, was defeated by Scott in a contested election. In May, 1824, Easton requested his friends not to vote for him for governor of the State. "Nimrod" and "Hermet" probably referred to W. H. Ashley and Frederick Bates, respectively, who had made the race for governor that year. Although it is impossible to identify "The Stripling" and "Tippicanoe," the references might be to Spencer Pettis and William Carr Lane. In the election on November 25, 1824, Barton received fifty votes, Miller, four, General Clark, fifteen, and Judge Rufus Pettibone, one.]

MILLER COUNTY'S LEGEND OF "CAVE" WILSON

From the *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, May 30, 1902.

The citizens of Miller county are now preparing to celebrate with great pomp and ceremony one of the most unique historical events in the annals of the State. It is no less an event than the opening of the Wilson demijohn of whisky that was placed in his coffin in 1855, with the provision that it was to be opened at the end of seven years, at the mouth of the cave where the remains of Wilson are buried.

The opening of the demijohn of "Cave" Wilson, as it is now known, was to be accompanied by a big dance, with much fiddling, drinking and laughter, so that his spirit could join in the revelry. The end of the seven years came just in the middle of the Civil war, so the opening of the demijohn was not thought of. But ever since the close of the war people in Miller county have been planning to carry out the desire of John Wilson, one of the most eccentric characters in the history of Missouri. Now his grandson, of Brumley, Miller county, has taken the matter up and intends to carry it to a successful end some time in the latter part of May or early in June.

The tale regarding the eccentricities and character of John Wilson is so striking that it may be called a legend in future days, although it is a

reality. Wilson was born in Ireland in 1755. He married Miss Nellie Ray. "Uncle Jack" and "Aunt Nellie," as later generations called them, spent their first winter with their children in a cave thirty feet above the bottoms on Tavern Creek. He was friendly with the Indians, who gave him some pigs. He laid claim to large tracts of land on Tavern, Brushy, Barren and Dog creeks, and was known as an extensive land owner. He became a wealthy and generous old man, of whom an old neighbor said: "He fed the hungry, visited the sick and clothed the poor." He had materialistic views of life and immortality. When he first wintered in the cave which bears his name he noticed a smaller cave to the right. This he then chose as his tomb.

In accordance with his desire to be buried there he prepared a coffin for himself about 1842 and placed it there. It was his frequently expressed wish that when he died he should be placed in that coffin, with salt about his body, and a demijohn of the best old liquor set near him; next, that the mouth of this natural sepulcher should be walled up firmly with masonry, and all who attended should be furnished a good dinner, with something to wash it down. Finally, at the end of seven years his friends should gather for a grand reunion and picnic. The picnic is now to be held.

ONE CENT AWARDED IN BREACH OF PROMISE SUIT

From the Bowling Green *Democratic Banner*, May 10, 1845.

We learn that a case of breach of marriage contract was tried at the late term of the Warren circuit court. This is the first case of the kind we have known to come to trial in this State, and the result, we should suppose, would not prove very satisfactory to the ladies. The suit was brought by Miss Fant, vs. Dr. Wells, and the verdict of the jury was *one cent damages* for the plaintiff. The trial occupied two days and was conducted on the part of the plaintiff by W. L. Williams and U. Wright, Esqs. of St. Louis, and A. H. Buckner, of this place, and Wm. M. Campbell, of St. Louis, for the defence.

F. X. AUBRY'S FAMOUS RIDE

From the "Santa-Cali-Gon" edition of the *Independence Examiner*, October 11, 1940.

The rapid beat of a horse's hooves on the hard-packed street on the north side of the public square [in Independence, Missouri] brought men running from the Noland house . . . a lone rider could be seen in a silhouette against the western sky racing pell-mell toward the group of men. As the horseman pulled to a quick halt in front of the hotel a great simultaneous shout "It's Aubry!" went up.

This scene occurred on September 18, [17?], 1848, and was the end of a perilous journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, by a daring young man, Felix [François] Xavier Aubry, who had ridden to Independence, a

distance of 780 miles, in the unheard of time of five days and sixteen hours, breaking his own previous record and dispelling all doubts among old plainsmen who had heard about his first ride.

Aubry received the plaudits of the entire country and became the most-talked-of man of the frontier for many years. Babies, race horses, and even a steamboat plying the Missouri river, were named for him. Every major newspaper in Missouri carried an account of the ride.

Aubry, a French-Canadian, frail and but five feet two inches tall, and weighing slightly more than one hundred pounds, came to St. Louis in the late '30s. With his quiet manner, he sought and found a job in a carpet store of Eugene Kelly who later went to New York and became wealthy in the brokerage business.

Aubry saved his money and later followed the urge that so many young men received in that day to seek adventure in a trip across the plains into the unsettled wilderness. In 1848 he came by steamboat up the Missouri river to Independence, the best known outfitting point at that time, and spent all his savings for a trader's outfit. He was only 19 years old.

After fights with Indians and association with rough bullwhackers and plainsmen in the three months required for the trip, Aubry reached Santa Fe a changed man. He had gained in weight and grown a black beard. He could shoot straight and above all had learned to ride a horse well. One night in a saloon at Santa Fe he boastingly told plainsmen gathered around that he could ride horseback to Independence in eight days, a trip that normally took four weeks on a horse and three months by covered wagon. He saddled his horse, "took off," and was in Independence slightly less than eight days later. He won a \$1,000 wager.

The fast ride thrilled the old pioneers . . . Aubry in the meantime had invested in a second load of goods and took them to Santa Fe. When he reached there he found he was the hero of the town. He became bold and, . . . told them he could smash his record to bits. Some even doubted he had made his first quick ride. He accepted the challenge.

Aubry was more cautious this time, though. He established relay posts at convenient places along the trail for his second speedy ride. The best horses obtainable were placed at these points. His non-stop endurance race across country began early on the morning of September 12, 1848.

Eating and sleeping in his saddle, Aubry stopped only at his designated posts to change horses. The second day he had himself strapped in the saddle to prevent falling off while asleep. His picked horses followed the plains trail but the speed was so terrific that they often stumbled exhausted and he had to wait until they revived. Near Council Grove, Kansas, the horse he was riding fell dead under him. Fortunately he was near his relay post.

Having encountered Indians on his first fast ride Aubry changed his route in places, particularly near Santa Fe, and this new trail was later named the Aubry route and was followed by wagon trains.

Five days and sixteen hours after leaving Santa Fe, Aubry had completed 780 miles of continuous riding in 136 hours, making 140 miles each twenty-four hours. He was carried from his saddle, which was literally caked with blood, into the Noland house.

He immediately called for ham and eggs and then requested sleep. Upon being allowed to sleep six hours, he was incensed when he awakened, saying he wanted his food and sleep in broken doses, which he had been used to for more than five straight days.

There are many wild tales of Aubry's experiences and most of them can be verified. One of his escapades resulted in his death. Aubry went back to Santa Fe with another load of goods. He was tired of freighting and was looking for a new thrill. He decided to drive 5,000 sheep over the Sierra Madre mountains and thus discovered a new route to San Francisco from Santa Fe, a new pass over the western mountains. An imposter saw a chance to get in a good lick and he came into Santa Fe telling that he himself had discovered the new route to San Francisco. Captain Richard H. Weightman, who had gone with Doniphan's expedition to Mexico during the war, and had later started publishing a newspaper in Santa Fe, believed the imposter's story and printed it.

Aubry came into Santa Fe later and, in a saloon one evening, asked Weightman why he had ceased to publish his newspaper. Weightman said:

"It died because of lack of patronage."

Aubry, infuriated, replied: "You mean it died because of the lies you told about me."

Weightman threw a glass of whiskey in Aubry's face and in the ensuing fight Aubry was stabbed to death. Weightman was tried on a murder charge and acquitted. Old plainsmen along the Santa Fe trail mourned the death of Aubry, the adventurous young man, whom they admired for his courage and his great ride. . . .

MISSOURI RIVER FROZEN FIVE WEEKS AT KANSAS CITY

From the *Kansas City Enterprise*, January 26, 1856.

On the night of the 24th of December, 1855, the Missouri river at this place was frozen over. It is now near five weeks that the river has been a highway for teams of horses, mules and oxen. We put this fact on record for coming years. We have now had near seven weeks of hard freezing—arctic weather. A season unparalleled in the history of this country. People will hereafter refer to the "long cold winter of 1855-6."

THE MISSOURI ARTIST

Reprinted from the *St. Louis Intelligencer* in the *Jefferson City Jefferson Inquirer*, January 17, 1852.

We called in a few days ago at the studio of our old friend George C. Bingham of Columbia, Mo., and in looking over some of his latest produc-

tions, could not but feel more sensible than ever how truly proud our State should be of this gifted disciple of Fine Arts. A good deal has been said lately about his "Election Day," which, naturally, first attracted our attention.—It is not yet quite finished, but the vivid truthfulness that speaks from every part of the canvas, sufficiently stamps it already as one of the choice productions of a high order of genius. The most striking feature about the painting perhaps, is the fact that whoever looks at it seems to recognize at once some old acquaintance in the various groupings, and is disposed to fancy that the portrait was taken from the life. We saw most unmistakably an old County Court Judge, of the interior, who may invariably be seen on "election day" perched upon the court house fence, discoursing with the learning and authority which are inseparable from high official position, upon the infallibility, and super-excellence of the "Democratic" party. There he sits, in the identical place and attitude in Bingham's picture, so true a copy that we are sure, were the original to see it, he would feel insulted at the artist's presumptuous transfer of such an unapproachable greatness to vulgar canvas. Every character exhibits so perfectly some expression, attitude or occupation that is inseparable from such scenes that we will not venture to particularize any for fear of doing injustice to the rest. All who have ever seen a country election in Missouri are struck with the wonderful accumulation of incidents in so small a space, each one of which seems to be a perfect duplication from one of these momentous occasions in real life. We understand that a liberal offer has been made to Mr. Bingham for this painting, by a gentleman in New York, so that it is possible it will not remain here long after it is finished. We sincerely hope, however, that some public-spirited patron of the arts may be found in St. Louis, who will prevent the exquisite delineation of a purely Western scene from crossing the Mississippi. We could not object, of course, to its being taken abroad for the purpose of exhibition, but we cannot help protesting against its permanently leaving Missouri.

There are several other sketches from Western life which have upon them the distinctive marks of Bingham's excellence, and which all who can enjoy at all the rarest production of genius should not lose the opportunity of seeing.

Mr. B. is now engaged principally in portrait painting. In this branch of art he has but few equals, and no superior. We saw the unfinished portraits of several ladies and gentlemen, residents of St. Louis, which could not be surpassed for fidelity of feature, and expression. That of a distinguished State Judicial officer is remarkable for conveying an impression of *identity* rather than of mere resemblance. The old Judge himself is there, with his benevolent and intellectual face, looking as much at home in a gilt frame as if he had never been any where else.

[*Editor's Note:* The painting described may be the famous "County Election." Bingham sold it to Robert J. Ward, whose widow sold it in turn to a Mr. Irvine, a steamboat operator. Irvine willed the

canvas to his wife who gave it to her pastor, the Reverend Charles J. Hemphill, dean of the Presbyterian theological seminary at Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. C. B. Rollins of Columbia bought the painting after it had been lost for several years from Dr. Hemphill's son, James Hemphill, and returned it to Columbia in May, 1937. The St. Louis mercantile library owns a replica, which varies slightly with the initial painting.]

NO SCENERY?

Editorial from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 4, 1940.

A bus driver who has crossed the McKinley bridge from St. Louis to Venice and back for twenty-five years has traveled up to 400,000 miles, but says a contemporary, has "enjoyed practically no scenery at all."

Many a lover of the Mississippi will not be content with that judgment. They have seen it after weeks of rain, rushing high along the banks and levees with swirling driftwood in the brown flood. They have watched its piling of frosty ice floes in the dead of winter. They have stood by as it turned from mother-of-pearl to rose with the coming of a summer dawn and looked on as autumn twilight came down and blobs of yellow light marched through the blue-gray haze of the waterfront.

A great host of travelers reaching back to deep wilderness days pass along, some in midstream, others skirting the banks; Indians in pirogues hollowed out of sycamores and cottonwoods; Spaniards in the rude barges which launched the new world's commerce; French in their bateaux; riotous flatboatmen, singing as they steer the keelboaters with their passengers; Henry Shreve's primitive river steamboats and then the floating palaces of the '40s and '50s.

Joliet and Marquette, brave men in hoods, sweep down out of the Wisconsin river; La Salle comes to take a vast forest in the name of the King of France and to call it Louisiana; Laclede and Chouteau bring their crude boat to rest where St. Louis will be; Lewis and Clark push out from Wood River to the great unknown of the Northwest; Mark Twain passes along behind the wheel in a pilot's house; Huck Finn and Nigger Jim slip by on their raft.

Young Abe Lincoln bound with a cargo to New Orleans and his first view of the slave market; Eads battling high water to build his bridge; the *Robert E. Lee* racing the *Natches* to St. Louis in 1870, all America agog, Europe listening in by cable and a million dollars in bets changing hands; the churning commerce in the heyday of the packets when St. Louis was the country's second port—the river is still all this and more.

Scenery? Well, perhaps not such great shakes as pure scenery, but a life line of human activity and history such as few places in this world can equal. It was no accident when Winston Churchill cited its might and majesty to Parliament the other day.

MISSOURI'S NAPOLEON, WELLINGTON, AND WATERLOO

From the *Lexington Advertiser-News*, July 19, 1940. Excerpts from an article by Leona Joanna Wegener.

Over one hundred years ago there was a landing place on the Missouri river called Lisbon, which is now Napoleon, the town farthest west in Lafayette county.

War has played a large part in the history of this part of Lafayette county. The now old military-named towns of Wellington, Waterloo, and Napoleon, strung along the south bank of the river, came into being a dozen years after the visit to St. Louis in 1825 of the man for whom our county was named.

The town of Lisbon was named for Dr. John Belt's wife, Elizabeth. But the ardent rivalry between Wellington and Lisbon, laid out by Dr. Belt and John A. Paston, caused the small number of inhabitants of Lisbon to believe it appropriate to change the name to Napoleon, which was done at a mass meeting. A few years later the village of Waterloo was founded between these two rivals—hence the three military-named towns in a row on the present U. S. Highway No. 24, each only about two miles apart.

On July 5, 1887, the village of Napoleon was incorporated as a town under that name. . . .

SHREWD HOGS

From the *Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce*, July 17, 1858.

Shrewd Hogs—Most every one on the Levee must have noticed every day this season more or less fat and shrewd hogs, feeding, rooting, and nesting opposite the grocery and commission houses between Main and Delaware streets.

Among these hogs and pigs, there is one black spotted and streaked, that we have often seen nosing into flour sacks, cracker barrels, and everything else on the levee that he could possibly get his nose into. Then again there is a little striped pig, equally as shrewd as the old one, that we have noticed doing as good business among the groceries and provisions as the best of them.

Now we have no idea who owns these hogs and pigs, but we would very politely remind their masters, that we now have a hog law, and if they wish any sides, shoulders, and hams out of these shrewd levee feeders next winter, they had better provide a "Keeping up" place for them at once, as it is now against the law for them to be fed on staple and fancy groceries.

LESSON IN ORTHOEPIY

Editorial from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 30, 1941.

In casting our gaze over Frank Colby's column, "Don't Take My Word for It," as printed in the *Illinois State Register*, we came across this:

From Houston: Please give the correct pronunciation of Gallipolis, O., birthpalce of O. O. McIntyre.—F. J.

Answer: The name is a good rhyme for "alley police." Accent the first and last syllables: GALEe-poe-LEES.

Orthoepist Colby needs to go over that one again. You pronounce the birthplace of the late Oscar Odd McIntyre this way: PLATTs-burg, Mo.

WOODEN RAILROAD IN PIONEER RAY COUNTY

Reprinted from the *Richmond Conservator* by the *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, May 28, 1889.

Away back in the early forties the first railroad was built in upper Missouri. It extended from the brick mill, four miles south of Richmond, to the Lexington ferry on the north bank of the Missouri river. It was constructed, owned and operated by Allen & Reeves. It was graded and had wooden rails and the cars were drawn by mules. When first completed an excursion was given, and all the neighbors for several miles distant were invited to take a ride over it to the river and return. The cars used were flats, and chairs were placed on them for the convenience of the excursionists. On the first trip an accident occurred in which a negro girl had her leg broken and badly crushed while sitting on the car with her feet hanging over, and being caught between the moving train and a large stump on the side of the railroad track. At the time of the accident the girl was nursing a little child of one of the excursionists. Sheriff H. C. Perdue was on the train at the time of the accident and says he remembers the occurrence very well. Judge Thomas McGinnis was one of the first conductors employed to run over the road and managed it for quite a while.

GAUGE OF IRON MOUNTAIN RAILROAD CHANGED

From the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, June 29, 1879.

Over two thousand cars and one hundred and twelve locomotives were crippled and rendered utterly unfit for service in a few minutes yesterday morning, owing to the wilful and premeditated act of three thousand men. These men did their fell work by the use of hammers, crowbars, and other heavy implements that are to be found around a sectionhouse, and their action puts the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad company to an expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million of dollars. . . . And yet all this expense and anxiety and worriment, all of this stupendous undertaking, the greatest of the kind this continent has ever witnessed, consisted in moving a rail three and one-half inches.

For many years the Iron Mountain and Southern Railroad company has recognized the fact that they must inevitably alter the gauge of their road to correspond with that of all Northern and Western roads, in order to facilitate the immense amount of south-bound traffic which is transferred to it from other roads here, as well as the greater amount it receives from the Texas roads, which are of the same gauge as those of the North. As the change would be an immense undertaking, however, attended with a vast outlay, it was deferred for one reason or another until now. All of the rolling-stock which has been purchased during the past six or seven years has been constructed or selected with a view to this alteration, as it was not known at what time it might be determined upon. About the 1st of May, while President Allen was in New York, he determined that the time had come for making the alteration, and in less than two days the fiat had gone forth.

The peck of trouble for Mr. O. A. Haynes, the general superintendent of machinery, which was involved in this simple order, was something amazing. Here he was with 3,000 cars and 112 engines which behaved themselves admirably on a 5-foot gauge, but which, if put on a gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, would lop over and bump along on the ties in a disgusting manner. If the rails were set closer together, then there was nothing for it but to shorten the distance between the wheels of that whole outfit. . . .

Five weeks ago several hundred men, under direction of section bosses, began to prepare for the work. They went over the entire line and drove spikes into every second or third tie, just three and one-half inches inside of the west rail. This was done by use of a gauge, on one end of which there was an iron "marker." The gauge being placed against the east rail, the marker at the other end was pressed down so as to make a plain cut on the tie, and the men who came after drove a spike at each of these cuts. In places where the ties were rough they were chipped smooth so as to insure the easy sliding of the rails. Then, with great claw-bars, the men extracted all but five of the spikes that held each of the rails to be moved in place. Two were left on the inside and three on the outside of each rail. Thus, to make the change it was but necessary to extract two spikes, force the rail over against the line of spikes previously driven, drive two on the outside and proceed to the next rail. . . .

A large army was raised on Friday afternoon and night short trains went up and down the various branches of the road, leaving enough men with every section boss to average four for every mile of track to be moved. . . .

Thus the entire change of seven hundred miles of road was made, and only one through train each way and one short train from DeSoto was missed. Nothing has ever been done to equal it. . . .







